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ABSTRACT

The major purpose of this study was to explore the innovativeness of the career goals of black college women as related to selected background, attitudinal, and motivational factors. The level of career aspirations of black college women was investigated. Level of aspiration was defined as the extent to which a career choice was nontraditional for women. All 413 subjects of this survey were paid volunteers. The level of aspiration was found to be unrelated to achievement related motivation. Innovators and traditionals were similar in their sex role attitudes; they planned to combine family and career goals in a two-role model. Innovative women perceived their careers in terms of self-fulfillment. Questionnaire and fantasy measures were used. Appendices include the method of procedure, list of major fields and occupational aspirations, the survey instrument and references. (Author/PG)

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Martha Shuch Mednick, Ph.D.

MOTIVATIONAL AND PERSONALITY FACTORS
RELATED TO CAREER GOALS OF
BLACK COLLEGE WOMEN

Martha T. Mednick PH.D.

Grant No. 91-09-70-36

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND RESEARCH AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The major purpose of this study was to explore the innovativeness of the career goals of Black college women as related to selected background, attitudinal, and motivational factors. An examination of earlier findings (Gurin & Katz, 1966; Fichter, 1967) indicated that Black College women generally plan to enter professions and in contrast with white college women, to continue to work in their chosen fields after marriage and children. However, the occupations aspired to and entered have been those which are traditional for women in general. Gurin and Katz (1965) found that the occupational choices of college women in Southern Black colleges were made on the basis of economic necessity and availability, within a framework of traditional sex-role considerations. This contradicts the popularly espoused description (e.g., Moynihan, 1965) of the Black woman as a matriarch, a negatively toned euphemism for successful, dominant, and masculine. Fichter's (1967) findings reinforced those of Gurin and Katz. Black female college graduates had a clearly defined work orientation but planned to combine employment with marriage, family, and child rearing, thus also reflecting a traditional sex-role orientation. When asked how marriage would affect her plans for

graduate study and future career, she was much more likely than her white counterpart to see the two as compatible life goals. Fichter concluded ".....the educated Negro woman either does not want, cannot afford, or is culturally conditioned against the notion of marriage and family to the exclusion of other roles." (1967, p. 8). Finally, he noted that more Black women than white women in his samples were willing to make long range plans for graduate and professional training regardless of the other contingencies in their lives.

There is reason to believe that the type of career choice made by Black college women may be changing. The possibility of academic and professional opportunity is presumably increasing; Black students are being lured to graduate and professional schools by intensive recruitment policies and promises of ample financial, academic and emotional support. This should be attractive to women who perceive themselves as having to plan a lifetime of work and should influence their level of aspiration. On the other hand, such aspirations are complicated by another contemporary factor. The philosophy of the militant movement has demanded that the Black woman assume a passive role and has been very critical of her supposedly secure and dominant position. These views have been expressed by such prominent militant spokespeople as Carmichael (Seese, 1969), Cleaver (1968) and

Grier and Cobbs (1968). Indeed, the goals of the new Feminist movement have not had great appeal to young Black women. The point is that this emphasis may generate conflict and inhibit individual goal setting. The question focuses then on the extent to which non-traditional choices are being made and the factors affecting the choice.

1.1 Role Innovation

Tangri (1969) studied the determinants of college women's occupational choices. She was interested in the characteristics of women who had unconventional career orientations. She referred to these women as Role-Innovators, defining this as the proportion of men in a chosen occupation. Thus, for example, careers in nursing or teaching are very traditional for a woman, while aspirations to careers such as engineering, science or political life are extremely innovative. In Tangri's study, Role-Innovators made a wider variety of occupational choices, aspired to a higher level of accomplishment and expressed greater commitment to their fields than non-innovators. Furthermore, they explained their commitment in terms of personal fulfillment, rather than financial need.

Gurin & Katz (1966) also studied role-innovation and concluded, that for the Black college woman sex-role considerations exerted considerable influence on expressions of aspirations.

Thus, while they "intend to work just as long as the males, and, in this sense, show stronger work orientation than white girls, like white girls, they seem to approach work with greater restriction in choice, less concern with advancement, and lower investment in the question of career than is true of males." (p. 101). However, with regard to motivational characteristics of women who did choose difficult and demanding occupations, they had higher achievement orientation, less fear of failure and need for security, greater academic self-confidence and greater willingness to pioneer as a Black woman than those who aspired to easy and undemanding jobs. Thus, while there were few non-traditionals among the Black college women studied by these investigators, the few that did make such choices, were highly achievement oriented. Social class, another factor studied at length in investigations of occupational choice did effect choice. Daughters of mothers with some college education tended to choose occupations which they perceived as undemanding of ability. However fathers' educational level was related to the choice of occupations viewed as demanding and prestigious. These demanding and prestigious jobs overlap considerably with those which are innovative. Tangri's (1969) and other studies of women who have unusual aspirations indicate that for white women socio-economic status (generally paternal) is not directly related to role-innovation. On the other hand, for middle class

women, maternal employment and innovativeness of her profession is consistently related to the non-traditionality of daughters' occupational goals. In this study we examined the relationship of parents' educational and occupational level to innovativeness of choice. The contrast between white and Black college women in their work orientation is striking and has been demonstrated in many studies. We wish to raise the further question whether Role-Innovators among Black women will be different in this respect from those who are traditional, and if so, in what way.

1.2 Achievement Motivation

Numerous studies of occupational choice as related to achievement motivation have been reported (e.g., Littig, 1963, Mahone, 1960, Burnstein, 1963, Crocket, 1962 and Littig & Yeracaris, 1965). In these studies of the white college student, a relationship is generally found between achievement motivation and prestige of chosen field or occupational mobility. Two studies in this area were conducted on a Black college student population; these were the Gurin & Katz (1965) study of aspiration and motivation in Southern Black colleges, and Littig's (1968) investigation of personality correlates of occupational choice. In the latter study, need achievement (Nach) was related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations in working class male college

students, but not for the middle class group. However, these findings were not repeated in a recent study of Black college women (Okedejii, 1971).

The research on Nach in women has until recently revealed an inconsistent and inconclusive picture. In contrast to the research on men, performance on experimental tasks as well as other achievement related behavior is not consistently predicted from measures of Nach. Horner (1968) attributed these inconsistencies to the failure to take into account another motivational factor operating for women in achievement situations, the motive to avoid success (M_{as}). She reasoned that fear of succeeding is characteristic of women with high achievement motivation, such that in intellectually striving women, achievement fantasies result in a simultaneous arousal of M_{as} , thus masking the expression of the need to achieve. Horner contends that this explains the ambiguity of previous findings; she views M_{as} as a psychological barrier to achievement, a

"stable characteristic of the personality acquired early in life in conjunction with sex-role standards. It is conceived as a disposition (a.) to feel uncomfortable when successful in competitive (aggressive) achievement situations because such behavior is inconsistent with one's femininity, an internal standard, (b.) to expect or become concerned about social rejection following success in such situations Fear of success should be more strongly aroused in women who are highly motivated to achieve

and/or highly able, e.g., who aspire to and/or are readily capable of achieving success. For women with less achievement motivation or ability, e.g., those for whom success is neither a major goal nor one readily within their reach, there is no reason to feel anxious about succeeding. In approach-avoidance gradient terms, the former women would be much closer to the threatening goal than would the latter." (Horner, 1968, p. 22).

In her study women showed more M_{as} than men, and high ability women -- those in the honors program, had the highest incidence. Furthermore, some of the inconsistencies in prediction from achievement level to behavior were resolved, e.g., a test of sex differences in task performance under competitive and non-competitive conditions demonstrated that women without M_{as} did well in competitive situations while the women who were high in M_{as} showed a performance decrement. However, while Tangri also found a high incidence of M_{as} in the women she studied, it was unrelated to Role-Innovativeness.

Weston and Mednick (1971) found that Black women, regardless of social class level, expressed less M_{as} than white women. These data suggested that for the Black woman, success in intellectually competitive situations with men may not elicit fear of negative consequences, that such mastery may not be threatening and that professional achievement as here projected, is not to be feared. Alternately, the goal depicted may simply not be viewed as incompatible with the woman's perception of femininity and sex-role

relevant behavior because of the low incidence of Black men in these professional situations. Rejection and loss of feminine identity may therefore not be associated with this particular kind of success. If M_{as} is so low, Nach should in theory not be masked and should predict level of aspiration. For those women who have high M_{as} as defined by Horner, we expected lower aspirations.

Two other factors which modify the motivation-aspiration relationship are ability level and closeness to goal attainment. Thus, seniors and the more able women were expected to show a stronger motivation-aspiration relationship than the rest of the group.

1.3 Summary of Major Objectives

The level of career aspirations of Black college women was investigated. Level of aspiration was defined as the extent to which a career choice was non-traditional for women. Bearing in mind the Black college woman's high commitment to a lifetime of work and the ostensible opening of opportunity for Blacks and women at this time, a high level of aspiration was expected. We also raised the question of the extent to which these factors may be counteracted by militant attitudes. While the level of work commitment was expected to be high for these women, different reasons for commitment and differing career perceptions and

expectations, were expected for the Traditionals and Innovators, with the Innovators stressing self-fulfillment and personal ambition as opposed to factors reflecting financial and service considerations.

Turning to personality and motivation, it was expected that both Nach and M_{as} would influence level of aspiration albeit in different ways. We were most interested in M_{as} and expected to confirm earlier findings of its infrequent occurrence among Black women; further we predicted that Innovators would have less M_{as} than Traditionals. Nach should be positively related to role-innovation. These relationships were expected to be strongest for women closest to graduation and for those with relatively high ability. We also examined attitudes about woman's role, raising the question of the degree to which competitive strivings (i.e., high aspirations) and a traditionally feminine role are viewed by the two groups as incompatible goals.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD OF PROCEDURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBJECTS

¹ 2.1 General Comments on Method

Two studies were conducted. The first set of data was collected in 1970 at an urban Black university on a sample of women residing in one of the dormitories. The second was collected in 1971 at five schools in the Southeastern and Middle Atlantic States.² All the women were paid volunteers. There were 127 participants in Study I and 286 in Study II.

The measures used were 1) an instrument for the assessment of Nach and M_{as}, 2) the Alpert-Haber Achievement Anxiety Test as a measure of fear of failure (FF), and 3) a questionnaire which contained questions about occupational choice, family background, a militant attitude scale and sex-role attitudes. The questionnaires were somewhat different in the two studies. The major changes for Study II were the construction of a new militancy scale and the elimination of the FF measure. A group of questions designed to compare ideal and actual career choices, rating of anticipated

-
1. A brief description of the procedures is given in this chapter. The reader is referred to Appendix A for a detailed presentation of the method. Appendix C contains all instruments used in the study.
 2. Since two of these schools requested anonymity, none will be identified. School characteristics are given in Appendix A, p.91.

success in a chosen career, and the career requirements were added. These questions are in Appendix C and coding procedures are described in the appropriate part of the results section.

2.2 Subject Characteristics

Table 2-1 gives the school class level of our subjects. Comparisons between sophomores and seniors were possible only for Study II.

TABLE 2-1

Frequency of Students
at Each School Classification Level

	<u>Study I</u>	<u>Study II</u>
Seniors	32	117
Juniors	26	
Sophomores & Freshmen	<u>41</u>	<u>169</u>
Totals	117	286

Tables 2-2 through 2-4 present family background characteristics. In Tables 2-2a and b are the parents' occupations for the two groups we studied, for those reported by Gurin & Katz (1966) and Fichter (1967), and the comparable proportions from the most recent

census report on the Black population (1971).

TABLE 2-2a

Paternal Occupational Levels: Comparison of Present
Studies with Earlier Research & Current Census Figures¹

	<u>I²</u>	<u>II²</u>	<u>Gurin & Katz</u>	<u>Fichter³</u>	<u>Census: employed Non-white</u>
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	23%	14%	12%	13%)) 13%
Managerial	12	9	8	6)
Clerical & Sales	7	7	12	4	9
Craftsmen	6	12	15	18	13
Operatives	10	11	21	18	26
Service (excluding Housework)	6	7	13	8	15
Farm Labor	2	3	12	11	8
Other Labor	8	14	14	22	18

1. Current Population Report, (1971); Gurin and Katz, 1966;
Fichter, 1967.
2. Does not add to 100% because of missing data.
3. Fichter reports only "head of household" figures.

TABLE 2-2b

Maternal Occupational Levels: Comparison of
Present Studies with Earlier Research & Census Figures¹

	<u>Study I</u>	<u>Study II</u>	<u>Gurin & Katz</u>	<u>Census Non-white</u>
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	28%	24%	29%)) 13%
Managerial	2	3	3)
Clerical and Sales	17	12	7	25
Craftsmen	6	1	3	1
Operatives	9	0	7	15
Houseworkers	26	13	47	16
Farm Labor	0	0	2	2
Other Labor	0	0	2	1

1. See notes for Table 2-2b

The women in the first study, all students at a large Black urban university, have fathers whose occupational level is higher than those in all the other groups. With respect to mothers who work, a substantial percentage of both groups, our respondents are very similar to those of the two earlier studies, at least at the higher occupational levels. It is of interest that the

proportion of houseworkers at no point approaches the level found by Gurin & Katz. In fact, our 1970-71 data are closest in this respect to the U. S Census figures. Report of parents' educational level was obtained only in Study I. The median paternal educational level for this group was 13.64 years; mothers' median level of education was 13.75 years. Gurin and Katz report that only 22 percent of fathers and 28 percent of mothers of their respondents had "some college and beyond"; 19 percent of mothers were in this category. In the Fichter study, public college students reported that only 15 percent of fathers had "some college and beyond"; 19 percent of mothers were in this category. For people who attended private colleges, the figures were: Fathers: 23 percent, Mothers: 27 percent. The group in our first study has more highly educated parents than any of the other groups considered here. The maternal-paternal discrepancy is also lower than that reported previously. Income level for Study I reflects a similar picture. The median income is in the \$10-15,000 range. Gurin and Katz report a median of \$5,200 for their students. These figures may be suspect, but assuming that tendencies to exaggerate are similar, the group in Study I is of a higher social class level as reflected by parents' occupation, education and income level than those of the earlier studies, our second study, or the population in general.

Table 2-3 presents data on family structure. According to the 1971 census report, 67 percent of Black families are intact.

TABLE 2-3

Intactness of Family: Comparison of
this Study with Earlier Research

	<u>Study I</u>	<u>Study II</u>	<u>Gurin & Katz</u>	<u>Fichter</u>
Parents Together	58%	76%	75%	68%
Divorced or Separated	26	18	16	26
Parents Deceased	16	7	N.A. ¹	13

1. Not ascertained

The figure for our second study is somewhat higher than this, but it is substantially lower for the first group.

These data were presented to provide a frame of reference for the reader. Some of the characteristics of our two groups have been defined compared with each other and with those of two important earlier studies.

CHAPTER 3

FACTORS RELATED TO CAREER CHOICE

SINGLE VARIABLE ANALYSES

This section will present the results of all the chi-square analyses and will be organized as follows:

- 3.1 Dimensions of Career Choice
- 3.2 Analysis of Background Factors
- 3.3 Attitudes Toward Career Choice
- 3.4 Commitment, Militancy and other Sex-Role Issues
- 3.5 Motivational Factors

The dependent variable is the dichotomy: Traditionality - Innovativeness of career choice. Multivariate analyses are described in Chapter 4. All the results will be summarized in Chapter 5 followed by a discussion in Chapter 6.

3.1 Dimensions of Career Choice

The career choices and their designation as Traditional or Innovative are listed in Appendix B, Table B-1. Traditionality was defined as the proportion of women in a field,¹ with those fields having fewer than 30 percent women being designated as

1. See Tangri (1969) for further discussion of this definition of level of aspiration.

non-traditional. As a check on this criterion, three Black female graduate students judged the degree of innovativeness of the list of occupations given by the women in Study I. There were only a few occupations which were judged differently from the statistical definition. These were occupations such as airline hostess which are innovative for Black women but traditional for white women. These kinds of choices occurred so infrequently in our studies that no separate analyses were possible or necessary. Furthermore, since the focus of the study was on women who are innovative with respect to traditional sex-role considerations, Tangri's criterion for traditionality seemed appropriate. An attempt to separately analyze a group of moderate innovators (e.g., sociologist) was also short lived due to the small proportion of our sample in this category. See Appendix B., p.102).

TABLE 3-1

Incidence of Traditional and Innovative

Career Choices: Studies I & II

<u>Career</u>	<u>Study I</u>	<u>Study II</u>
Traditionals	47 42%	194 68%
Innovators	<u>66</u> <u>58</u> 113 100%	<u>92</u> <u>32</u> 286 100%

TABLE 3-2

Traditionality of Career Choice by School for Seniors,
Sophomores and Total Group: Study II

School	a. Total Group		b. Sophomores		c. Seniors	
	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
A	41	25	7	11	34	14
B	38	16	21	10	17	6
C	46	21	38	16	8	5
D	48	7	32	7	16	0
E	21	23	12	15	9	8

chi-square = 18.843
p = $< .01$, 4df

chi-square = 16.198
p $< .01$, 4df

chi-square = 10.018
p $< .05$

Table 3-1 presents the frequency of traditional and innovative women in our studies. The patterns are quite different. Furthermore, the chi-square analysis presented in Table 3-2 indicates that the pattern of career choice in Study II varies drastically from school to school. This effect appears to be a stronger one for sophomores than for seniors. However, the data in Table 3-3 does not reflect a significant association of closeness to graduation with traditionality of choice for the group as a whole.

TABLE 3-3

Traditionality of Career Choice and School Classification

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
a. Study I		
Senior	13	21
Junior	12	14
Sophomore & Freshmen	19	22
	chi-square = .592, n.s.	
b. Study II		
Senior	84	33
Sophomore	110	59
	chi-square = 1.134, n.s.	

The level of innovativeness is thus quite different for the different schools. In School A, (a state school in a Middle Atlantic State), one sees a highly traditional pattern -- at the senior level not one respondent made an innovative choice. At the other extreme was the group at the large urban university; 58 percent responded innovatively and this did not vary with year in school. (Table 3-3).

The school used in Study I was utilized again in Study II -- School E. It is noteworthy that once again a high proportion of these women are Innovators. The second most innovative group attend a small private woman's college. The overall pattern does appear to indicate greater innovativeness on the part of women than reported in the study by Gurin & Katz or in studies of white women (e.g., Tangri, 1969). However, the great variation from school to school does caution against generalizing to Black college women as a single population.

3.2 Analysis of Background Factors

We examined the relationship of traditionality to social class factors as measured by parents' occupation, education and income level. A glance at Tables 3-4a, b, c and d, 3-5a and b, and 3-6 reveals that none of these factors influence the level of career choice. Table 3-7 presents the marital status of the parents; in the first study this had a significant association to

innovativeness but this was not confirmed for the second group. The Study I relationship for this variable was evidently due to a great proportion of innovators having at least one deceased parent (this was usually the father). The direction in this category was reversed in Study II; family intactness really does not seem to be an influential factor. In Study I we asked about birth order and number of siblings; both factors had no bearing on the level of career choice (Tables 3-8a and b). Table 3-9 indicates that both Innovators and Traditionals report a closer relationship to their mothers¹ than to their fathers, nor do they differ in feeling more like one parent than the other. In both studies we looked also at traditionality of daughter's career choice in relation to the traditionality of mother's occupation and found no relationship. In sum, none of the background factors examined related significantly to level of career aspiration for these women.

1. These relationships are significant for both groups. For Innovators, chi-square = 9.817, $p < .01$, 3df, and for Traditionals chi-square = 16.547, $p < .01$, 3df.

TABLE 3-4a

Traditionality of Career Choice and Paternal Occupation: Study I

<u>Occupational Level</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	9	20
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	10	5
Clerical and Kindred Workers	3	4
Sales Workers	0	2
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	4	3
Operatives and Kindred Workers	5	8
Private Household Workers	6	2
Farm Laborers and Foremen	1	1
Laborers, Excluding Farm and Mine	5	5

chi-square = 10.349, df = 8; n. s.

TABLE 3-4b

Traditionality of Career Choice and Maternal Occupation: Study I

<u>Occupational Level</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	15	20
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	0	2
Clerical and Kindred Workers	10	8
Sales Workers	1	2
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	1	6
Operatives and Kindred Workers	5	6
Private Household Workers	11	22
chi-square = 6.013, df = 6; n.s.		

TABLE 3-4c

Traditionality of Career Choice and Paternal Occupation: Study II

<u>Occupational Level</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Professional & Managerial	41	22
Clerical and Sales	10	10
Craftsmen	24	8
Operatives	20	11
Service and Labor	41	20
chi-square = 3.507, n.s.		

TABLE 3-4d

Traditionality of Career Choice and Maternal Occupation: Study II

<u>Occupational Level</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Professional & Managerial	42	30
Clerical & Sales	26	8
Craftsmen	1	2
Operatives	5	4
Service & Labor	32	13
chi-square = 5.79, n.s.		

TABLE 3-5

Traditionality of Career Choice and Parental Education: Study I

<u>Years of Education</u>	a. <u>Paternal</u>		b. <u>Maternal</u>	
	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
1-11	11	11	6	11
12	13	15	18	14
13-16	14	19	13	27
17-24	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>
TOTAL	44	63	46	64
chi-square = 3.641, n.s.		chi-square = 4.473, n.s.		

TABLE 3-6

Traditionality of Career Choice and Reported Income: Study I

<u>Income Level</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Below \$3,999	7	13
\$4,000 - \$7,499	11	8
\$7,500 - \$9,999	7	16
\$10,000 & Above	<u>19</u>	<u>23</u>
Total	44	60

chi-square = 3.804, n.s.

TABLE 3-7

Traditionality of Career Choice and Family Structure

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>STUDY I</u>		<u>STUDY II</u>	
	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Parents Together	27	39	128	63
Separated or Divorced	17	12	32	14
Deceased	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>14</u>
Total	47	66	194	91

chi-square = 8.077
p = < .023

chi-square = .51,
2df, n.s.

TABLE 3-8

a. Traditionality of Career Choice and Number of Siblings: Study I

<u>Number of Siblings</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
1	5	5
2	14	16
3	6	19
4 or more	<u>22</u>	<u>26</u>
Total	47	66

chi-square = 4.149, n.s.

b. Traditionality of Career Choice and Birth Order: Study I

<u>Birth Order</u>	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
1	24	27
2	15	24
3	2	10
4	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	46	66

chi-square = 4.147, n. s.

TABLE 3-9

Traditionality of Career Choice and Relationship to Parents: Study I

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. Parent I am Most Like			
Father	9	15	
Mother	20	19	chi-square = 2.191, n.s.
Same	11	20	
Not Like Either	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	
Total	47	65	
b. Closeness to Father			
Very Close	9	11	
Quite Close	4	12	chi-square = 3.569, n.s.
Fairly Close	16	17	
Not Very Close	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	
Total	34	53	
c. Closeness to Mother			
Very Close	17	30	
Quite Close	15	15	chi-square = 1.710, n.s.
Fairly Close	10	10	
Not Very Close	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>	
Total	46	66	

3.3 Attitudes Toward Career Choice

Tables 3-10 through 3-16 present the analyses of a group of questions that focused on some attitudes expressed by the respondents of Study II toward their career choices. The consistency and firmness of an individual's plans as well as her perceptions of the field may be reflected in some of these data and are therefore of interest. Table 3-10 indicates that innovativeness and tendency to change one's college major is related. This effect interacts with level in school; for the seniors the variables are independent. It was the sophomores who reported the most change.

TABLE 3-10

Traditionality of Career Choice and Change of Major: Study II

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. Sophomores			
Changed Major Field	16	21	chi-square = 8.71, $p < .01$, 1df
Did Not Change Major			
Field	<u>94</u>	<u>38</u>	
Total	110	59	
b. Seniors			
Changed Major Field	11	6	chi-square = .168, n.s.
Did Not Change Major			
Field	<u>73</u>	<u>27</u>	
Total	84	33	
c. Total Group			
Changed Major Field	27	27	chi-square = 8.72, $p < .01$, 1df
Did Not Change Major			
Field	<u>167</u>	<u>65</u>	
Total	194	92	

In Table 3-11 we see the response to queries about change and compromise. Very few of these women report change (16%) or compromise (31%) and this was consistent for seniors and sophomores. We asked respondents who had said that their choice was a compromise for an explanation. These responses were coded into two broad categories, one included answers stressing advantages of the choice such as wish for variety or independence, and another which included answers stressing difficulties, such as conflict with marriage. There is a trend in these data for Innovators to stress the attractive features of the chosen career

TABLE 3-11

Traditionality of Career Choice, Change or Compromise in Aspirations, and Explanation of Compromise: Study II			
		<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
a. Change			
	Yes	24	17
	No	<u>141</u> 165	<u>61</u> 78
			chi-square = 1.50, n.s.
b. Compromise			
	Yes	47	24
	No	<u>100</u> 147	<u>53</u> 77
			chi-square = 0.00, n.s.
c. Why Compromise?			
	Stress on Positive Aspects	29	22
	Stress on Difficulties	<u>25</u> 54	<u>8</u> 30
			chi-square = 2.346, $p < .10$, 1df

more than the aversive features of the rejected one. Another question asked whether an ideal occupational choice would be different from the actual one. In this case, we find that fewer Traditionals are making what they regard as an ideal choice. The Innovators on the other hand, see their choice as ideal, an effect which is most pronounced for the senior women (Table 3-12).

TABLE 3-12

Traditionality of Career Choice and Question:

"Would your ideal occupation be different?":

for Total Group, Seniors, and Sophomores: Study II

		<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. SOPHOMORES	Yes	37	10	
	No	<u>78</u>	<u>48</u>	chi-square =
		110	58	2.247, $p < .15$, 1df
b. SENIORS	Yes	24	2	
	No	<u>60</u>	<u>31</u>	chi-square = 5.704
		84	33	$p < .02$, 1df
c. TOTAL GROUP	Yes	56	12	
	No	<u>138</u>	<u>79</u>	chi-square = 7.5
		194	91	$p < .01$, 1df

Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which someone influenced her choice of career. If a respondent answered affirmatively, she was then asked by whom she was influenced. The Traditionals (Table 3-13) report parents as most influential; this does not seem as important for the Innovators. It is also of interest that only about 40 percent of the women reported that they were influenced. Several dimensions reflecting perception of career characteristics were next examined.

TABLE 3-13

Traditionality of Career Choice and Response to

Question: "Who Influenced You?": Study II

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Parents	26	6
Other Relative	11	11
Friends	3	3
Teacher	17	13
Other	<u>21</u>	<u>4</u>
	78	37

chi-square = 11.43, $p = < .09$, 4df

Table 3-14 presents the responses to an open ended question about the requirements of the chosen career. The responses were categorized as instrumental - responses which stressed independence, assertion and difficulty, - or expressive - responses which stressed helping others, service, and emotional aspects such as compassion. Here, more Innovators than Traditionals viewed their choices as instrumental, an effect which was significant for sophomores, but not for seniors. The next question, also open ended and coded as other or self-oriented, asked about the kind of satisfactions the respondent expected to obtain from work in her

TABLE 3-14

Traditionality of Career Choice and Perception
of Occupational Requirements: Study II

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. SOPHOMORES			
Instrumental	39	35	chi square =15.28 p = < .01
Expressive	<u>56</u> 95	<u>12</u> 47	
b. SENIORS			
Instrumental	38	13	chi-square = .012 n.s.
Expressive	<u>43</u> 81	<u>14</u> 27	
c. TOTAL GROUP			
Instrumental	77	48	chi-square = 9.29 p = < .01, 1df
Expressive	<u>99</u> 176	<u>26</u> 74	

field. As can be seen in Table 3-15, this is significantly related to traditionality only for the sophomores. Most women are other-oriented in their responses. When asked about expectancy of success in their fields, very few women (21%) felt that it was "unlikely" that they would succeed. No relationship to traditionality was found for expectancy of

TABLE 3-15

Traditionality of Career Choice and Perception
of Type of Satisfaction Offered by Field: Study II

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. SOPHOMORES			
Self	30	27	chi-square = 4.478 p = < .03, 1df
Other	<u>68</u> 98	<u>27</u> 54	
b. SENIORS			
Self	31	9	chi-square = 0.156 n.s.
Other	<u>49</u> 80	<u>19</u> 28	
c. TOTAL GROUP			
Self	61	36	chi-square = 1.834 n.s.
Other	<u>117</u> 178	<u>46</u> 82	

TABLE 3-16

Traditionality and Ratings of Expectation of
Success in Occupation: Study II

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Unlikely	42	17
Moderate	107	47
Very Likely	<u>44</u>	<u>27</u>
	193	91

chi-square = 2.11, n.s.

TABLE 3-17

Traditionality and Ratings of Openness
of Field: Study II¹

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. To Women			
1. Closed	6	3	
2.	27	27	chi-square= 23.924
3.	31	8	p = < .01, 3df
4. Open	<u>41</u>	<u>3</u>	
	105	41	
b. To Blacks			
1. Closed	10	5	
2.	59	33	chi-square= 10.877
3.	14	2	p = < .02, 3 df
4. Open	<u>21</u>	<u>1</u>	
	104	41	
1. Not Obtained on entire sample.			

success. This is interesting in the light of the next two questions which asked how open the field of choice was to women and to Blacks. With respect to the "women" question, there was a significant relationship with Innovators being quite realistic. A similar relationship was found regarding the openness of the field to Blacks, but the Traditionals shifted toward the closed direction to a great extent (Table 3-17).

3.4 Commitment, Militancy and Other Sex-Role Issues

Militancy as measured by the scale developed by Puryear (Appendix A, p.91) was related to the kind of career choice made. A related open-ended question on the role of Black women was coded into several categories as shown in Table 3-18. The largest proportion of both groups stressed the idea of being in a supportive role to the man. The chi-square shows a trend that is probably the result of the relatively large group of Innovators emphasizing "support of man". Another version of commitment is revealed in the answers to the question "When would you return to work after children?". In Table 3-19 these data are presented for Studies I and II. There is no relationship to traditionality for either group. The most interesting fact is the high percentage, 65 percent in Study I and 87 percent in Study II, of women who expect to return to work by the time their children reach first grade.

TABLE 3-18

Traditionality of Career Choice and
the Role of the Black Woman: Study II

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
Support of Man	87	54
Family Commitment	16	9
Career Commitment	54	13
Family & Career Commitment	21	8
Blackness	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>
	189	88

chi-square = 8.120, $p = < .10$, 4df

TABLE 3-19

Traditionality of Career Choice and Commitment

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
STUDY I			
Soon After Birth	13	17	
Kindergarten - 1st grade	15	24	chi-square = .231, n.s.
Junior High or later	<u>13</u>	<u>17</u>	
	41	58	
STUDY II			
Soon After Birth	92	38	
Kindergarten - 1st grade	80	36	chi-square = 3.465, n.s.
Junior High or later	<u>21</u>	<u>16</u>	
	193	90	

TABLE 3-20

Traditionality of Career Choice and
Reasons Given for Returning to Work: Study II¹

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. SOPHOMORES			
Self	29	17	
Other	<u>57</u>	<u>21</u>	chi-square = .939
	86	38	n.s.
b. SENIORS			
Self	19	13	
Other	<u>25</u>	<u>3</u>	chi-square = 5.387
	44	16	p < .05, 1 df
c. TOTAL GROUP			
Self	48	30	
Other	<u>82</u>	<u>24</u>	chi-square = 4.69
	130	54	p < .05, 1 df

1. Data were available for only part of sample.

In Table 3-20 are the results of an analysis of the reasons for returning to work after children. The question was administered to only part of the Study II sample. The responses were coded as self-oriented or other-oriented. An example of a self-oriented response would be "for self-fulfillment", "financial reasons" or "to help my people", were the major answers coded as other-oriented. In general, just as we noted in Section 3.3, a high proportion of women are in the "other" category, but the Traditionals emphasize an "other" orientation to a greater extent than Innovators, a relationship confined to the senior women.

TABLE 3-21

Traditionality of Career Choice and Feelings of

Marriage-Career Conflict: Study II

	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>	
a. SOPHOMORES			
Yes	15	23	
Some	4	2	chi-square = 14.29
None	<u>89</u>	<u>33</u>	p < .01, 2df
	108	58	
b. SENIORS			
Yes	22	11	
Some	2	2	chi-square = 1.772
None	<u>60</u>	<u>20</u>	n.s.
	84	33	
c. TOTAL GROUP			
Yes	37	34	
Some	6	4	chi-square = 11.579
None	<u>149</u>	<u>53</u>	p = < .01, 2df
	192	91	

Turning to the question of whether the women openly express a feeling of conflict about marriage-career choices, most women in Study I (70%) said they had none and there was no relationship to type of career choice. In Table 3-21, we see that most of the women in Study II also do not express such conflict. However, those who do express conflict tend to be Innovators, though the effect is completely confined to the sophomore group.

3.5 Motivational Factors

This section focuses on the achievement measures. Tables 3-22 to 3-25 present the results of the analyses of measures of Nach, M_{as} , GPA, and openly expressed conflict about ability and femininity. M_{as} and Nach were unrelated to level of occupational aspiration. The results of the M_{as}^1 analyses are similar for both studies, for all cues and for seniors and

TABLE 3-22

Traditionality of Career Choice as Related to
Achievement Motivation: Study II

N ACHIEVEMENT SCORE	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
0-3	12	15
4-4	11	7
5-5	8	15
6-7	8	11
8-11	7	13

chi-square = 3.59, 4df, n.s.

-
1. The cues used for M_{as} are in Appendix C; the scoring system is described in Appendix A.

TABLE 3-23

Traditionality of Career Choice and Fear of Success

<u>Cue 1</u> <u>M_{as}</u>	<u>STUDY I</u>		<u>Cue 1</u> <u>M_{as}</u>	<u>STUDY II</u>	
	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>		<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
0	32	40	0	144	72
1	<u>12</u> 44	<u>19</u> 59	1	<u>50</u> 194	<u>20</u> 92

chi-square = .104, n.s.

chi-square = .352, n.s.

<u>Cue 2</u> <u>M_{as}</u>			<u>Cue 3</u> <u>M_{as}</u>		
0	31	43	0	109	57
1	<u>8</u> 39	<u>13</u> 56	1	<u>85</u> 194	<u>35</u> 92

chi-square = .011, n.s.

chi-square = .632, n.s.

<u>All Cues</u>		
<u>M_{as}</u>		
0	81	43
1	55	26
2	38	14
3	16	8
4	<u>4</u> 194	<u>1</u> 92

chi-square = 1.367, n.s.

TABLE 3-24

Traditionality of Career Choice and Grade
Point Average: Studies I and II

STUDY I	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
<u>Grade Point Average</u>		
1.5 - 2.1	10	12
2.2 - 2.4	10	14
2.5 - 2.8	10	19
2.9 - 3.5	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>
	38	60

chi-square = .877, n.s.

STUDY II¹

Below Median	22	14
Above Median	<u>83</u>	<u>27</u>
	105	41

chi-square = 2.763, $p < .10$, 1df

1. GPA obtained only on a portion of the group in Study II.

TABLE 3-25

Traditionality of Career Choice and Conflict About Ability

STUDY I			STUDY II		
	<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>		<u>Traditionals</u>	<u>Innovators</u>
a. <u>Girls who make "A" are...</u>					
Happier	1	2		100	47
Same	18	33		68	32
Unhappier	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>		<u>23</u>	<u>13</u>
	39	52		191	92
chi-square = 3.196, n.s.			chi-square = .243, n.s.		
b. <u>Girls who make "A" are...</u>					
More Feminine	1	4		13	6
Same	31	38		145	70
Less Feminine	11	5		13	10
(No Opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>19</u>		<u>(22</u>	<u>6)</u>
	47	66		193	92
chi-square = 4.59, $p < .10$, 2df			chi-square = 2.84, n.s.		
c. <u>Do girls who make "A" marry?</u>					
More or Equal			More	117	64
Chance	32	46			
Less Likely	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	Same	64	25
	45	60	Less	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>
				193	92
chi-square = 0.145, n.s.			chi-square = 2.53, n.s.		

sophomores. With respect to ability and career choice, in Study I level of aspiration and ability are unrelated. There is a tendency reflected in the data of Study II for the Traditionals to have a higher GPA than the Innovators, but this is significant only at the .10 level. Table 3-25 shows the relationship of career choice and the three questions designed to assess openly expressed feelings about the compatibility of ability and femininity. The overall picture indicates that traditionality is unrelated to whether one views high ability and femininity as compatible or not. What is more interesting about these data is the low percentage of women who see high grade getters as unhappier, less feminine or unlikely to marry. Also noteworthy is the marked difference between the women in Study I and those of Study II on the first item. In Study II more than 52 percent of the women saw high grade getters as "happier" whereas only three members of the Study I group had this view. The groups are much more alike for the other two items in Table 3-24, although a slight trend in the same direction is detectable. The senior and sophomore Study II women were very similar to each other in these questions.

FE was shown to have a low negative relationship to traditionality ($R = -.15$, n. s.; see Table 4-1 below).

Since the central motivational concept of this study was M_{as} , some analyses were conducted to determine whether some dimensions of career choice other than traditionality could be predicted from our measure of conflict about success. For example, it could be argued that an occupation classified according to our criteria as traditional, may be perceived in other terms by the respondent and that such perceptions are more likely to reflect her fundamental motivational orientation. Several of the factors presented in Section 3.3 of this chapter seemed to be relevant to this issue. The data for M_{as} could be looked at for each verbal cue and for the sum of the scores for all cues (possible range 0-4). Cue 1 was selected for separate analyses because it is the same cue that has been used in all the major studies of M_{as} and in our previous research. Cue 3 was selected because the amount of negative imagery it elicited was greater than for any of the other cues we have used. The total score was used under the assumption that the greater the number of M_{as} stories told by an individual, the greater the fear of conflict. This follows rationale and procedures used by Atkinson and his colleagues (1958) in their scoring of achievement imagery. In several cases the data for the two cues and the total score are presented for seniors, sophomores and total group; in others only some of the subgroups are presented.¹ Looking through the

1. The data which are not presented here are available upon request from the principal investigator.

TABLE 3-26

Fear of Success and Response to Question:

"Has your career choice changed?": Study II

<u>CUE 1</u> ¹	<u>SENIORS</u>		<u>SOPHOMORES</u>		<u>TOTAL GROUP</u>	
	<u>M_{as} Score</u>		<u>M_{as} Score</u>		<u>M_{as} Score</u>	
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Yes	10	11	14	10	32	13
No	<u>73</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>51</u>
	83	31	86	57	193	64
	chi-square = 6.763, p < .01, 1 df		chi-square = 0.000, n.s.		chi-square = 0.241, n.s.	

1. The findings for Cue 3 were not significant.

TABLE 3-27

Fear of Success as Related to the Question:

"Is Your Career Choice a Compromise?": Study II

<u>Cue 1</u> ¹	<u>M_{as} Score</u>	
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Yes	65	11
No	<u>117</u>	<u>43</u>
	182	54

chi-square = 3.815, p < .10, 1df

1. The analyses for Cue 3 and the total score were not significant, nor were there any differences between seniors and sophomores.

group of variables relevant to the question of how career choice is perceived, we are again struck by the trivial number of instances in which M_{as} has predictive value. Seniors are more likely to report a change in career choice if they have M_{as} though this is the case only for Cue 1. The sophomore group does not show this effect. High M_{as} scorers tend to indicate that

TABLE 3-28

Fear of Success and Perception of
Requirements of Career Choice: Study II

a. Cue 1

<u>Career Requirement</u>	M_{as} Score	
	0	1
Instrumental	96	38
Expressive	100	26

chi-square = 2.866, $p < .10$, 1 df

b. All Cues

	0	1	2	3&4
Instrumental	54	42	21	17
Expressive	<u>60</u> 114	<u>33</u> 75	<u>25</u> 46	<u>8</u> 25

chi-square = 4.72, n.s.

their career choice is a compromise -- but this only approaches an acceptable level of significance and also holds only for Cue 1 (Tables 3-26 and 3-27). In Table 3-28 we see, and these data are typical of this variable's relationship to M_{as} , that the findings indicate a slight trend for a higher proportion of high fear of success women to see their career choice as instrumental. With regard to type of satisfaction expected from the chosen career, the only significant finding is that a higher proportion of senior women with low M_{as} give "other" oriented responses. Table 3-30 reveals that expectation of being successful in one's field is not related to fear of success. With regard to openly expressed conflict about ability and femininity it is of interest that women who have some M_{as} (at least on Cue 1) are less likely to see "A" grade getters as happier or marriageable than low M_{as} women. Finally, and again this is true only for Cue 1, the high M_{as} women tend to report feelings of conflict about marriage vs. career. However, this is significant at only the .09 level. (Table 3-32).

TABLE 3-29

Fear of Success and Perception of Type of Satisfaction

Offered by Career Choice: Study II

	<u>SOPHOMORES</u>			<u>SENIORS</u>			<u>TOTAL GROUP</u>					
	<u>M_{as} Score</u>			<u>M_{as} Score</u>			<u>M_{as} Score</u>					
<u>Cue 1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>				
Self	50	9		30	15		85	24				
Other	<u>75</u>	<u>25</u>		<u>50</u>	<u>18</u>		<u>125</u>	<u>43</u>				
	125	34		80	33		210	67				
	chi-square = 1.556, n.s.			chi-square = .329, n.s.			chi-square = .104, n.s.					
<u>Cue 3</u>												
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>				
Self	39	20		23	22		62	42				
Other	<u>60</u>	<u>40</u>		<u>34</u>	<u>34</u>		<u>94</u>	<u>74</u>				
	99	60		57	56		156	116				
	chi-square = .356, n.s.			chi-square = .005, n.s.			chi-square = .218, n.s.					
<u>All Cues</u>												
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3&4</u> ¹	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3&4</u>				
Self	33	13	10	3	11	21	10	3				
Other	<u>43</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>				
	76	45	25	13	38	36	25	14				
	chi-square = 6.533, n.s.				chi-square = 9.029, p<.05, 3df				chi-square = 3.5, n.s.			

1. Sum of the scores for all four cues was used in this analysis. The last two categories were combined because of low frequencies in each.

TABLE 3-30

Fear of Success and Expectation of Success in Chosen Field: Study II

	<u>SOPHOMORES</u>			<u>SENIORS</u>			<u>TOTAL GROUP</u>	
<u>Cue 1</u>	<u>M_{as}</u>	<u>Score</u>		<u>M_{as}</u>	<u>Score</u>		<u>M_{as}</u>	<u>Score</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Unlikely	28	11		16	9		44	20
Moderately Likely	68	20		56	17		124	37
Very Likely	<u>39</u>	<u>9</u>		<u>20</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>59</u>	<u>16</u>
	135	40		92	33		227	73
	chi-square = 1.092, n.s.			chi-square = 1.552, n.s.			chi-square = 2.189, n.s. 2df	
<u>Cue 3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Unlikely	25	14		13	12		38	26
Moderately Likely	49	39		37	36		86	75
Very Likely	<u>35</u>	<u>13</u>		<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>		<u>49</u>	<u>26</u>
	109	66		64	61		173	127
	chi-square = 3.997, n.s.			chi-square = .018, n.s.			chi-square = 3.073, n.s.	
<u>All Cues</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3&4</u> ¹	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3&4</u>
Unlikely	19	10	8	2	7	9	7	2
Moderately Likely	41	25	13	9	27	24	12	10
Very Likely	<u>22</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>
	82	50	30	13	45	38	27	15
	chi-square = 3.1, n.s.				chi-square = 5.9, n.s.			
					chi-square = 5.1, n.s.			

1. See note for Table 3-29.

TABLE 3-31

Fear of Success and Conflict About Ability: Study II

<u>Cue 1</u>	<u>M_{as} Score</u>	
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
a. <u>Girls Who Make "A" are...</u>		
Happier	123	34
Same	72	34
Unhappy	<u>32</u>	<u>4</u>
	227	72

chi-square = 7.523, $p = < .025$, 2 df

b. <u>Do Girls Who Make "A" Marry?</u>		
Greater	150	38
Same	66	31
Less	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>
	228	73

chi-square = 4.810, $p = < .10$, 2 df

TABLE 3-32

Fear of Success and Feelings
of Marriage-Career Conflict: Study II¹

	M _{as} Score	
	0	1
<u>Cue 1</u>		
Yes	37	41
Some	8	2
None	<u>128</u>	<u>83</u>
	173	126

chi-square = 6.166, $p < .09$, 2 df

1. See footnote for Table 3-28.

CHAPTER 4

MULTIPLE VARIABLE ANALYSES OF FACTORS RELATED TO TRADITIONALITY OF CAREER CHOICE

These data are presented separately for Studies I and II.

4.1 Study I

The variables selected for multivariate analyses and their interrelationships are presented in Table 4-1. These factors were selected on the basis of the hypotheses, outlined at the close of Chapter 1, regarding the combined influence of particular variables. It was predicted that achievement related variables (Nach, M_{as} , FF) would be more highly related to non-traditionality for those with high ability and also for women who are closer to graduation. As can be seen from Tables 4-2 and 4-3, the predictive value of these groups of variables is practically nil; the multiple R's do not approach significance and the percent of explained variance is too small to be of any practical importance. Some theoretical points may be raised, and this will be done in Chapter 6. The predictions that motivational measures would relate to level of occupational aspiration were not supported.

TABLE 4-1

Correlation Matrix of Achievement Variables,
Career Choice and Selected Background Factors¹

	Trad	GPA	Nach	No. Sibs	FF	Class
Traditionality						
Grade Point Average ²	.05					
Need Achievement	-.16	.14				
Number of Siblings	.00	-.08	-.04			
Fear of Failure	-.15	-.01	-.03	-.04		
Classification	-.09	-.27	-.05	-.09	-.05	
Fear of Success	-.08	.00	-.04	.00	.16	-.05

1. Missing data had to be eliminated; the N for this matrix is 92. A coefficient of .195 is significant at the .05 level and .228 at the .01 level for 90 df.
2. The GPA scale was inversed; thus a low GPA was coded at the upper end of the scale used in these analyses.

TABLE 4-2

Results of Stepwise Regression Analysis I in order of Selection of
Variable: Dependent Variable is Traditionality of Career Choice

(N=103)

<u>Variables Included</u>	Partial r	Multiple R	Multiple ¹ R ²
Fear of Failure	.15	-.15	.02
Need Achievement	-.11	-.19	.04
Classification	-.08	-.20	.04
Grade Point Average)	Not selected for regression equation.		
)			
Number of Siblings)			

1. Percent variance explained.

TABLE 4-3

Results of Stepwise Regression Analysis 2 in Order of Selection of
Variables: Dependent Variable is Traditionality of Career Choice
(N-92)

<u>Variables Included</u>	partial r	Multiple R	Multiple R ²
Number of Siblings	-.18	.18	.03
Fear of Success	.08	.20	.04
Fear of Failure	.09	.21	.05
Need Achievement)	Not selected for regression equation.		
Grade Point Average)			
Classification)			
Classification)			

4.2 Study II

A stepwise regression technique called Regression Estimate of Event Probabilities (REEP) was used for the multivariate analysis in Study II. In this technique the dependent and all independent variables are in binary form (zero-one or dummy variables). The set of prediction variables is screened and a set of variables are selected such that all or nearly all predictive information in the set of potential predictors is obtained. An ordinary multiple regression equation between the criterion and the set of selected predictors is calculated. In this case, the equation gives the probability of being traditional. Also obtained are the multiple point biserial correlations and the percent variance (R^2) accounted for by the selected variables.¹ In Table 4-4 a through d, the results of four analyses may be seen. Each considered a different set of independent variables. The number of variables included in each analysis was determined by several factors. Technically, since individuals with missing data were omitted, including too many variables would have resulted in an overly depleted number of cases. Further one can only interpret a limited number of variables. Moreover, these were selected on the basis of our initial questions about factors related to traditionality and to some extent on the results

1. The full regression equations and all the binary variables are available from the principal investigator.

of single variable findings.

Turning to Table 4-4a, Analysis 1 considers fear of success in the context of school, year in school and two aspects of the major field. As can be seen, the regression procedure indicates that M_{as} is not related to traditionality. Characteristics of the major field and school attended are more significant for prediction of traditionality. Analysis 2 (Table 4-4b) omitted school; M_{as} was the third variable selected in this instance, but is included here only to show the paltry nature of its effects.

Analysis 3 (Table 4-4c) turns to a set of sex-role factors, and consistent with the single variable analyses we see that traditional women view the requirements of their careers in the expressive mode, expect to combine family and career and are other-oriented in their reasons for commitment. Low militancy and low commitment add very little beyond this point. The amount of variance explained by all of these factors is not great, but worth noting if only for theoretical reasons. Finally, in the fourth analysis (Table 4-4d) we pulled together several factors used in Analysis 1, 2 and 3, added a social class variable and GPA as an objective measure of achievement. The school, that is, attending School D, has a strong effect on the probability of being traditional; in this context moderate militancy has an effect and finally, if the father's occupation is at the

professional-managerial level, the woman is somewhat more likely to have made a non-innovative career choice. As noteworthy, since again we do not explain a profound proportion of the variation with these factors, are all of those which do not show a relationship to this dependent variable. In particular M_{as} and ability do not seem important determinants of level of occupational aspiration as here observed.

TABLE 4-4

Stepwise Multiple Variable Regression Analyses (REEP): Traditionality
of Career Choice is the Dependent Variable (Study II)

a. ANALYSIS 1:

Variables Entered:

Classification
School
Masculinity of Major Field
Fear of Success
Changed Major

Variables Selected:

	Multiple R	Multiple R ²
Masculinity of Major Field (negative)	.23	5.25
School (#D)	.34	11.75
Changed Major (did not)	.39	15.45
School (#E)	.43	18.59

b. ANALYSIS 2:

Variables Entered:

Classification
Changed Major
Fear of Success
Masculinity of Major Field

Variables Selected:

Masculinity of Major Field (not)	.23	5.25
Changed Major (did not)	.30	9.07
Fear of Success (cue 1)	.31	9.77

TABLE 4-4

(Continued)

c. ANALYSIS 3:

Variables Entered:

Commitment
Militancy
Role of Women
Career Requirements
Career Satisfaction
Reason for Commitment

<u>Variables Selected:</u>	Multiple R	Multiple R ²
Career Requirement (expressive)	.21	4.35
Role of Women (Combine family-career)	.28	7.91
Reason for Commitment (other)	.33	11.20
Militancy (low)	.35	12.26
Commitment (work after Jr. H.S. or later)	.36	13.11

d. ANALYSIS 4:

Variables Entered:

School
Fathers' Occupation
Career-Marriage Conflict
Commitment
Fear of Success (cue 1)
Militancy
Reason for Commitment
Grade Point Average

Variables Selected:

School (#D)	.27	7.59
Career-Marriage Conflict (no)	.37	13.75
School (not E)	.40	15.99
Militancy (3rd Quartile)	.43	18.38
Militancy (2nd Quartile)	.45	20.38
Fathers' Occupation (Professional- Managerial)	.47	22.36

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

5.1 Single Variable Analyses

The major findings with respect to level of career aspiration were:

1. An overall pattern of greater innovativeness than found in previous research with considerable variation from school to school, and no significant difference between seniors and sophomores.
2. Social class and other family background factors were not related to occupational aspirations. Most of the women, regardless of level of aspiration, reported that they were more like and closer to their mothers than to their fathers. Innovators tended to report being influenced less by their parents than by various other people. Traditionals reported more parental influence.
3. Change of major field in college was uncommon among these women, but Innovators reported change more often than Traditionals. With respect to career choice, few women report change or compromise. Of those who compromised, Innovators stressed the attractions of their chosen fields while Traditionals stressed the hardship of the field they would have preferred. Furthermore, Traditionals were not making their ideal choice. The greatest degree

of certainty was shown by the senior Innovators.

4. Also of interest was a generally high expectation of success in chosen fields regardless of level of choice. This was so in spite of the fact that both Traditionals and Innovators had realistic perceptions of the degree to which their chosen fields are open to Blacks and women.
5. The Innovators, sophomores in particular, viewed their fields as having instrumental requirements and self-oriented kinds of satisfaction.
6. A measure of militant attitudes was not related to level of career aspiration. When asked about the role of the Black woman, most respondents stressed the role of being supportive to the male. Innovators showed a non-significant trend to emphasize this more than the Traditionals.
7. Most women (65%) anticipated returning to work by the time their children reach first grade. When asked for reasons for returning to work, Traditionals were other-oriented (financial, help "my people", etc.), while Innovators tended to talk more about self-fulfillment. The last was especially true for senior Innovators.
8. Feelings of career-marriage conflict were not reported very frequently. Most of those who did report feeling some such conflict were sophomore Innovators.

9. None of the achievement related measures were related to traditionality of career choice. The motive to avoid success was not related to this or most other aspects of the career descriptions. The exceptions to this generally negative picture were: a) High M_{as} scorers tended to report career change or compromise and also to see their career choice as instrumental; b) more low M_{as} women tended to be "other" oriented; c) High M_{as} women were those few who saw ability and happiness or marriage as incompatible and report some conflict about marriage and career goals. These findings were the case mainly for Cue 1.

5.2 Multivariate Analyses

The multivariate analyses focused on the motivational measures. This was particularly true for Study I where several achievement related measures were used. Two analyses tested the hypothesis that $Nach$, M_{as} and FF would be related to level of occupational aspiration and that ability and level in school would modify these relationships such that for high ability women the relationships should be stronger than for low ability women. For M_{as} it was suggested that since being a senior meant being closer to the goal, that a greater effect should be observed in this instance as well. These hypotheses were not supported.

Very little of the variance in the traditionality measure was explained by the combination of these variables. (See Tables 4-3 and 4-4).

In Study II, several analyses incorporating M_{as} were conducted. When combined with school attended, class level in school and characteristics of the major, the probability of a traditional career choice is not changed by considering M_{as} . (Table 4-4, Analysis 1). When school attended is omitted from the analyses (Table 4-4, Analysis b), M_{as} adds only a trivial amount to the explained variance. Finally, M_{as} was examined in an analyses which included measures of ability (GPA), social class (fathers' occupation), school attended, as well as several others. Once again, M_{as} did not affect the probability of making a traditional career choice.

Turning to factors which did have some bearing on traditionality of career choice, we examined a group of variables which could be said to reflect sex-role attitudes. We found (except for the analyses in which school attended was included) that these factors showed in combination the greatest proportion of explained variation in traditionality of career choice. If a woman held the view that her chosen career requires expressive traits, that the role of women is to combine family and career, that her reason for commitment is

other-oriented, if she was also very low in militancy and further is one of the few in our sample who plans to go to work relatively late, then she was most likely to have made a traditional career choice. Conversely, the Innovator viewed her field as having instrumental requirements, did not stress the combination of family and career, was self-oriented and unlikely to say that she would wait until her children were in Junior High before going back to work (Table 4-4, Analysis 3).

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In the following discussion we must take into consideration the limitations on generalizability imposed by the nature of the sample. The schools were selected for practical reasons such as our limited financial resources, convenience of location and willingness to cooperate;¹ the subjects were paid volunteers. The study centered on determinants of the level of career aspirations of Black college women; in particular we were curious about the effect of achievement related motivation on such goals.

We turn first to a discussion of motivation and the implications of this aspect of the findings, then we take up the characteristics of the aspirations, their background determinants and the cluster of career attitudes and perceptions that differentiated Innovators from Traditionals. The latter focuses on sex role considerations shedding light on commonly held conceptions and misconceptions about Black women's view of their role as women. A final section will consider the social and policy implications of our findings.

1. This study was conducted at a point in time when the turning against social science research was at a peak. Schools cooperated reluctantly and persons within the school just as reluctantly.

6.1 Motivation

Our concern here has been the relationship of approach and avoidance achievement motives to level of career aspiration. The findings reinforce the generally negative picture that has accumulated with respect to the study of women and need achievement. Until very recently, very few studies had been reported in this area. Those which did appear were difficult to replicate, inconsistent, or inexplicable within the theoretical framework that so effectively explains male achievement behavior. The negative nature of the findings with women created a situation that discouraged an active interest on the part of most investigators. This and the renewed concern with women's lack of actual achievement created a Zeitgeist for an enthusiastic reception of Horner's studies of M_{as} . These stimulated a new look at women and achievement. The impetus for our study came partly from research (Weston and Mednick, 1971) demonstrating that Black college women, in contrast to white college women of similar social class levels, did not express much fear of success. The high M_{as} imagery shown by white women has been repeatedly found in a variety of settings (Horner, 1972). Low fear of success in Black women's fantasy has now been repeatedly demonstrated. In the present study, we used several different cues, worked with women in a variety of college settings, and found a low incidence of M_{as} in every instance.

As noted in the introduction, one of the major dependent variables used in studies of achievement motivation has been occupational aspiration, with consistently positive findings for men. Since occupational aspiration implies long range goal setting, it is reasonable to assume that motives, conceived as fundamental dispositions to behave in a consistent manner in specific situations, would influence this kind of choice. Further, when society has imposed severe constraints on the range of possibilities for some individuals because of their membership in a particular group, it is essential to understand all the factors that may determine the setting of significant goals. The motivational characteristics of those who break out of expected directions are of particular interest and significance. It has always seemed reasonable to assert that intrapsychic explanatory factors such as achievement motivation would account for at least a significant proportion of the variance in such behavior. However, with respect to traditionality, at least for the group of women studied here, this does not seem to be the case. Our innovative women were not confined to those with low success avoidance or low failure avoidance or high strivings for success as we measured these motives. Moreover, this was not mediated by class in school. We are left with a rather negative picture with regard to the prediction of this aspect of women's behavior from

achievement related motives.

Turning to the question of how M_{as} was related to some of the other career perceptions examined, those who were high tended to report more career change or compromise than their low M_{as} counterparts. Furthermore, they saw their careers as having instrumental as opposed to expressive requirements, and as offering them self rather than other-oriented satisfactions. These data hint that the conflict about success may be related to the women's view of a field and not the field per se. Perhaps this indicates that the subgroup of women who are anxious about their career goals are those who view them in masculine terms regardless of their objective characteristics. The high M_{as} women are also among the few in our groups who reported conflict about career vs. marriage and who tended to see able women as less happy, thus adding an element of validity to the fear of success construct.

An area which should be explored further is that of the woman's actual status vis a vis marriage. Horner asserts (1972) and there is some evidence from a study by Puryear and Mednick (1971) that the degree of the woman's attachment to a man (i.e., pinned, engaged, married, etc.) mediates the effect of M_{as} on other factors. The women who are reasonably settled in their relationships with a man did not show less M_{as} imagery, but

the conflict had less influence on other aspects of their behavior. However, this has not been examined with regard to level of career aspiration or any of the other career attitudes we studied.

Finally, it is clear from our data as well as from other recent reports on M_{as} (Morgan and Mausner, 1972, Hoffman, personal communication, Kriger, 1972) that there are as yet serious unresolved methodological and conceptual problems in this area. It certainly is too soon to reach a final conclusion about the usefulness of this motivational concept. On the other hand, it is quite clear that in terms of immediate practical implications, its use as a straightforward predictor of level of occupational aspiration for Black women is not warranted.

6.2 Traditionality, Background Determinants and Career Attitudes.

We found a greater proportion of women with innovative aspirations than had been found by previous investigators. Exact comparisons are difficult to make, but in the studies by

Gurin and Katz (1966) and by Fichter (1967), fewer than 20 percent of the women aspired to predominantly masculine occupations. Our overall proportion of Innovators (combining both studies) approaches 50 percent. It is of interest too that the Innovators in our study are aware that their chosen field may be closed to them as Blacks and as women. However, this is not constricting their choice or causing them to reduce their expectation of success. These data must also be interpreted against the background of the large differences among schools. The possibility that innovative women tend to volunteer for studies such as this must also be considered. The school differences themselves argue against this and a self-selection by school interaction hypothesis seems rather untenable. In any case, the school effect contributed the most to variation in traditionality. What was it about the school that made the difference? Unfortunately, we can only attempt to guess at the answer since we do not have any objective measures of school characteristics. Gurin and Katz (1966) found that traditionality of women's occupational choice was not related to differential recruitment policies of their schools or to the effect of the school experience. The women who were traditional when they came to school were traditional when they left school. This was in

sharp contrast to their findings that for men, recruitment policies made a difference in the initial level of aspiration. Moreover, some of the schools exerted an effect such that the proportion of non-traditionalists among men increased. The factor that seemed most important was degree of faculty-student interaction at the particular institution. It is curious though not surprising, that they found no such effect for women. While women's aspiration to difficult and demanding and undesirable careers was affected by their experience in these schools, the picture with regard to traditionality remained rigidly tied to sex role constraints. We might conjecture that faculty-student interaction affected men more than women, because the role models for men were appropriate and attitudes conveyed by male faculty were positive and supportive, while for women this was not the case. This suggests a possible explanation for the high level of innovativeness found in at least one of our schools. School A, it will be recalled, is a private woman's college and is relatively small. Perhaps such conditions are ideal for the attraction and incubation of non-traditionality. With regard to School E, a semi-public urban university with a medium sized liberal arts school, it is difficult to guess what might account for the high proportion of Innovators found here, but the pattern for this school was consistent for both studies. The other three schools are public state schools and the most traditionally oriented women came from these settings.

A combination of who is recruited to these schools and components of the school atmosphere would no doubt account for the effect. While social class, as will be discussed below, had almost no effect on level of career aspiration, it is worth noting that the two schools that produced the greatest number of Innovators probably have a higher SES level than the three state schools.

In sum, there appear to be more Innovators than previously found but they were concentrated in two of the five schools studied. The nature of the determinants of this finding or the extent to which particular school factors influence aspirations are unclear. A hypothesis worth testing in further research is that degree and type of student faculty interaction is important and that this would also interact with the presence of appropriate role models and supportive attitudes from both male and female faculty.

As noted in the introduction, social class has been found to affect Black women's career choice. Furthermore, although the nature of the relationships differ for them, these factors also exert an important influence on the choices white women make (e.g. see Tangri, 1969). However, none of the parental background measures influenced the traditionality of career choice in our studies. Traditionals and Innovators come from similar backgrounds. Regardless of aspirations they reported that they were closer to and more similar to their mothers than to their fathers. Traditionals

report that parents influenced them more than do Innovators who claim a variety of other influences; this may be tangential support for the notion that the availability of role models and other supportive figures in the school setting is important. It also seems that social class may be less important than the quality of the relationship with parents and other significant figures.

We turn now to the attitudes and perceptions the women had about their career choices, the question of work commitment and other sex role issues. Our two groups were similar and different in interesting ways. The most important similarity -- and in this respect these Black women are no different from those who were studied previously -- is their commitment to a lifetime of work. The measure of commitment which to Tangri and to her subjects implied role-innovation and career-orientation has a different meaning in this context. It does not differentiate our groups because here it measures commitment to work, not necessarily career. Most of these women plan to work and do not feel that this and family goals² are incompatible. Furthermore, in this context, early work commitment is hardly a reflection of the Feminist ideological stance it is presumed to represent when held by white college women. Planning a lifetime of work does not in and of itself

2. While not included in these analyses, we did ask a question about desired number of children. The range was 0-8, the median (Study II) was 3.4. This is also of interest in the light of our comments on sex roles.

connote a radical view of sex roles. It is our contention that here we have an example of a group for whom career planning is super-imposed upon an image of sex role conventionality. To reinforce this, we see that most of the women view their roles as "supportive to the man" and most perceive the kind of satisfaction offered by their field, whether traditional or not, as other-oriented. When asked why they plan to work, most give reasons which include those which are practical such as financial ones, the need to raise family status or to help one's people. These are classically linked to woman's role and function (Bernard, 1971) and are quite commensurate with conventional views of sex roles. Gump (1972) has also found that Black women hold a traditional view of the role of women. This association of work and traditionality of sex role views is consistent with the results of studies of other societies, such as the Scandinavian countries or the Eastern European Socialist states where the incidence of women at work is also very high (Haavio-Manilla, 1971). These studies have shown that fundamental attitudes about the roles of men and women are resistant to change and are not related to amount or level of the wife's work. Moreover, sex role relevant aspects of occupations are simply re-defined to conform to the old images (Holter, 1970). This is of course exactly what an Innovator is doing when she talks of her career choice in expressive or other-oriented terms.

While the majority of the women are similar in these respects, our Innovators and Traditionals also differ in several ways. Focusing on the Innovator, we see that she has a tendency to change her major at the outset, but like her Traditional counterpart, has not compromised or changed her career plans. Furthermore, she regards her choice as an ideal one, especially by the Senior year. Those few Innovators who did report compromise, explained this in terms of the advantages of the career they chose rather than as did the Traditionals, the disadvantages of the career they rejected. With regard to career perceptions, Innovators more than Traditionals, see the requirements of the career in instrumental terms -- that is they stressed traits such as independence, assertiveness and ability. When asked about the type of satisfaction their future career offered, very few women talked about self-fulfillment, but of those who did, a significant number were Innovators. This is also reflected in their tendency to be self-oriented when asked about their reasons for working after children. In this respect, these Innovators are similar to those studied by Tangri (1969). This rubric of attitudes also emerged as important in our multivariate analyses and when combined with attendance at two of the schools, constituted the best predictors of level of career aspiration. A final note with regard to militant attitudes. Our prediction that militancy would relate to a lower level of aspiration was not confirmed. In fact, if anything, these data

indicate that the most militant women (those in the top quartile of the distribution) are Innovators and that the low or moderate militants are Traditionals. This suggests also that those breaking away from Traditional career aspirations may be willing to engage in non-traditional behavior in some facets of their lives and not in others. Such apparent inconsistency would argue against a trait approach, i.e., looking for an underlying trait determinant of non-traditionality that guides or governs all behavior. Rather, it suggests that behavior will vary according to the situation and a woman who is conventional in one area of her life (e.g., family roles) can reasonably be expected to think and behave unconventionally in other areas (career choice and perceptions, militant attitudes on civil rights). This is consistent with the expectancy theory as espoused by Gurin and Katz (1966). They point out that individual expectancies in different contexts may influence behavior to a great extent, that general traits cannot be considered without regard to the person's perception of other aspects of the situation.

More comprehensive systematic studies of Black college women in a representative range of settings should be undertaken. In order to understand the factors within the woman and her environment which lead to non-traditional choices, such a study must obtain specific information about early and current interpersonal relation-

ships, school characteristics, both objectively and subjectively measured, and more detailed, objective information on actual achievement. Further, a serious attempt to answer the questions raised in this study dictates a longitudinal approach, covering the college years, a short term post-college follow-up, and two long term follow-ups. In no other way can questions about the development and the fulfillment of women's aspirations be answered in a valid manner.

6.3 Social and Policy Implications

Considering the group as a whole, a major finding with implications in the manpower area is the confirmation of earlier data indicating that Black women have a strong work commitment. Kreps (1971) comments on U. S. Labor Department statistics on married women in the labor force are apt: "in the case of families having preschool children 44 percent of the Negro and 27 percent of the white wives worked. In the case of families with husbands' income of \$10,000 or more, half of the Negro, but only one third of the white wives were in the labor force." (p.8) Our findings indicate that this picture holds regardless of level of career aspiration, in the context of family goals and most likely within a traditional sex role framework. It seems that

like most working women they will work because they must. Clearly such women will need institutional supports such as good child care facilities, opportunity for part-time training and part-time employment that is well compensated and associated with all of the opportunities, benefits and other "points" that accrue to full-time work in our society. Concerted pressure for such support has been very much with us in recent years and must continue. That bias persists is revealed in the President's Current Economic Report to the Congress. Although it "takes no position on such questions as giving tax breaks to working wives or federal support for day care centers...." (Washington Post, January 29, 1973) it does recognize that most women work for serious economic reasons and by implication suggests that the needs of women who are in and about to enter the labor force must be taken seriously.

Unfortunately, the supports needed to allow for a relatively stress-free combination of work and family commitments are not immediately available. Public assistance for such goals appears to be declining and whether the private sector will respond massively to such a need remains to be seen. Counseling and educational practices must therefore be framed in the light of current realities as well as future possibilities.

Concerning women who are working within a traditional orientation, consideration must be given to the strains created by work and family obligations conceived in such sex role terms. It is all too simple for an individual to resort to self blame when personal difficulties arise out of this kind of double commitment. This follows quite readily from the prevailing code which blames the person rather than the system itself for discord or disruption that may arise in such contexts. It has in fact been shown that women who have a traditional orientation tend to accept personal blame more than non-traditionalists (Sanger and Alker, 1972); it is only the latter group who quite realistically blames the institutions. The standard code is particularly punitive towards Black women. They stand accused of being non-feminine because they are often required to run or help support households. Furthermore, they suffer all the discriminatory practices maintained against Blacks as well as women. They are in fact lowest on the income ladder when compared with white men or women or Black men (Jackson, 1971). Counseling for these women must be oriented towards coping with potential anxieties engendered by these realities. There is, however, a narrow line to tread between raising alarmist cries about barriers, thus narrowing expectations and aspirations and supportively raising personal consciousness about what is "in me" and what is "out there."

What should be learned in the counseling setting is a problem solving orientation to dealing with personal demands in the face of the real external constraints. What should be avoided is enhancement of the sense of overwhelming anxiety and impotence when the situation is viewed either as entirely one's own fault or as due to forces that are totally outside of one's control. Counseling should avoid a focus on the barriers unless there is equal time given to real solutions. Many women in many societies and a particularly high proportion of Black middle class women in our society have been effectively living the "Two Fole Model" for many years. As suggested by Chisholm (1971; see also Ladner, 1971 and Jackson, 1971), the positive characteristics which stem from this model should be recognized and utilized as bases for educational and social planning. In the educational setting it is important for counselors and teachers, male and female alike, to convey supportive rather than derisive messages about the full realization of one's potential. That it is possible for schools to have an effect was clearly demonstrated by Gurin and Katz (1966) and this is a responsibility which should not be abdicated. These suggestions apply to our Innovators and Traditionals alike. It is however necessary to add a few remarks about the Innovators per se. We find that the Innovators are most likely to stress

self-fulfillment, independence and to be self-oriented when asked about their views of their careers and their reasons for working. They also report that they are influenced in their choice less by parents than by other important figures in their lives. Most of these women have made up their minds and feel that their choice is ideal. They seem to be a rather consistent and self assured group of women. Indeed very few of them have fears related to their achievement concerns. It must be noted, however, that of all the women here observed they are those most likely to have serious reality problems. They are likely to be victims of the consequences of both racism and sexism. They are doubly vulnerable because they are competing in fields closed to Blacks as well as to women. Moreover they more than any of the others will find themselves in situations where career requirements and the requirements of their self chosen role as traditional women will be creating serious conflict. What kind of commitment should be made to women such as these?

If this society continues to regard intellectual potential as a valuable resource, it should most certainly not choose to destroy the ambitions of even a few because they do not precisely fit the arbitrary mold of a particular career description. Innovators have the most difficult time attaining their goals (see e.g. Bayer and Astin, 1972) and are defined as maladjusted

or perverse if they do succeed (Helson, 1972). Counseling procedures (Stanfiel, 1970), educational practice, and job recruitment, hiring and reward systems seem almost immutably structured to discourage non-traditional aspirations. We suggest that these conditions require, in addition to the kind of counseling and supports to employed women suggested earlier in this section, a serious look at what is essential and what is non-essential in the definitions of particular careers.

APPENDIX A

Method of Procedure: Study I

Subjects

The subjects, students at an urban Black university, were paid volunteers identified only by code numbers and assured of their anonymity. They were told that they would obtain feedback about the results upon completion of the study. This was given to them in the form of a written communication. Subjects were tested in group sessions. Each person received a folder containing: (1) a TAT Nach instrument entitled "Cue Interpretation"; (2) the Alpert-Haber (1960) Achievement Anxiety Test; (3) a "Background Questionnaire." This order was chosen to avoid the possible influence of the other measures upon motivational arousal. The main experimenter throughout the study was a mature Black female graduate student. She was chosen because she was obviously not a peer and gave an authoritative impression. This plus the fact that she was Black and a woman was done to cut down on certain types of interviewer effects.

1

Instruments

Measurement of Nach and M_{as} : Measures and scoring procedure.

Verbal leads were used to elicit imagery. Leads rather than TAT pictures were used in order to eliminate the problem of finding pictures with similar cue values for various groups. The possible influence of extraneous factors such as age, appearance, dress, etc. are thus

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1. The instruments are in Appendix C.

also eliminated. Verbal leads have been used successfully by Horner (1968), Tangri (1969), Weston and Mednick (1969), Puryear (1971) and Bright (1970), and in a number of earlier investigations (e.g., see Lowell in McClelland et. al., 1953, p. 168, French, 1955 and Atkinson and Litwin (1960)). The verbal cues were:

1. Carol is looking into her microscope.
2. After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class.
3. A young woman is talking about something important with an older person.
4. Jennifer has been informed that her three-act play will be produced on Broadway.
5. Susan is sitting in a chair with a smile on her face.
6. Gloria, a lawyer, is in her office preparing a brief for court presentation.

Cues 1, 3, and 5 were used to assess achievement motivation; cue 1 was devised by Horner (1968), cue 3 by Weston (1969) and cue 6 by the present investigator for the measurement of M_{as} . These cues were administered under standard neutral conditions as described by McClelland et. al., (1953, p. 191). The subjects read the following instructions to themselves while the experimenter read them aloud:

You are going to see a series of verbal leads or cues and your task is to tell a story that is suggested to you by each cue. Try to imagine what is going on in each cue. Then tell what the situation is, what led up to the situation,

what the people are thinking and feeling and what they will do. In other words, write as complete a story as you can -- a story with plot and characters.

You will have 20 seconds to look at a verbal cue and five minutes to write your story. Write your first impressions and work rapidly. I will keep time and tell you when it is time to finish your story and to get ready for the next cue.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers or kinds of stories, so feel free to write whatever story is suggested to you when you look at a cue. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar are not important. What is important is to write out as fully and as quickly as possible the story that comes into your mind as you imagine what is going on in each cue.

There will be a sheet for the cue and an answer sheet following. If you need more space, write on the back of the answer sheet.

The guidelines to be followed in writing your stories are as follows:

1. What is happening? Who are the persons?
2. What has led up to this situation? What has happened in the past?
3. What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?
4. What will happen? What will be done?

The guidelines followed the cues on each set of sheets to make the task easier.

The stories were scored for Nach in accordance with the Atkinson (1958) scoring system by a professional scoring service.² All stories were scored for M_{as} by two specially trained coders.³ Several practice sessions were devoted to the improvement of coding reliability. The overall level of agreement for independent coding was 90 percent. The code was a simple present-absent system (Horner, 1968; Tangri, 1969).

2. Motivational Research Group, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

3. Drs. Horner and Tangri served as consultants and helped train our coders. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

A score of one was given if M_{as} was present and zero if M_{as} was absent. M_{as} was scored if there was negative imagery reflecting concern about projected success. Examples of such imagery include:

1. negative consequences because of the success,
2. anticipation of negative consequences because of the success,
3. negative affect because of the success,
4. instrumental activity away from present or future success including leaving the field for more traditional female work such as nursing, school teaching, or social work,
5. any direct expression of conflict about success,
6. denial of the situation described by the cue,
7. bizarre, inappropriate, unrealistic or non-adaptive responses to the situation described by the cue.

Examples of high fear of success stories:

Cue 1: After first term finals Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class.

(S#814) Anne, finds herself very outstanding to her fellow students. (sic) her main friends - Barbara, Vic and Juanita are all proud.. but Anne does not know how to accept their compliments and how to associate with people. In the past Anne lived in a poor neighborhood with uneducated people. She promised herself someday she would go away and come back to help her people.Anne wants to be herself not be boastful, she wants to help her classmates and not make it seem as if she knows it all. She has to learn as much as possible to help her people. Mainly how can she be herself and still do this. Anne eventually wears herself down. Her friends take her to one of the psychologists in the hospital. (negative outcome)

(S#815) Anne.. is enrolled in a medical school. Most of the students are males. Anne feels uneasy in the class and feels that she must be superior in order to prove her capabilities to fellow male students. Anne has been taking course (sic) in medicine for a long time. In all of her previous medical school classes, she has felt inferior because of the negative attitudes of the male students. Anne feels that she is just as capable as any of these long pants, and she's determined to prove to them and the rest of one sided thought (sic) men in the world that because she is female doesn't mean she is incapable. The men in Anne's class will not change their attitudes. They will find excuses for her high average, maybe by suggesting that although she made a higher score, and that's expected of studious females, she's dumb in application. The sight of blood will probably frighten her.

Examples of low fear of success stories:

Cue 1:

(S#816) It is now after first term finals, grades have been posted and Anne finds out that she has made terrific grades. Grades good enough to place her at the top of the class. The persons involved are Anne, her instructors, advisors and friends. Anne has probably showed (sic) her instructors that she has the potential to become a top student. They then prompted her to work hard to become the top student. Anne is thinking that she can actually do top work in med school and she now wants to go on to do further work. Anne will be prompted by her parents, friends etc. to go ahead....

(S#027) Anne just got her good grade. She is telling the whole class about it. She goes home and tells her parents the good news. This really gives her will power to go after what she wants. All her life Anne has loved medicine. She feels that it is the only thing she wants to do in life. Ann wants to be a great doctor. She thinks that it will give her a lot of satisfaction if she is a doctor. She remains at the top of her class and she turns out to be the great doctor that she wanted to be all of her life. She cures many patients and her family is proud of her.

Measures of Background Factors

The following measures were included in the Background Questionnaire and are completely reproduced in Appendix C.

Socioeconomic status (SES). Information on paternal and maternal occupation and education and family income was obtained. The major measure of SES was the occupation of the father although the other variables were also used in most analyses. The occupations were coded into the broad categories used in census reporting. The categories and their ranks are reported in Chapter 3.

Other Family Background. Questions asked for number of siblings and birth order, family structure and place of residence.

Demographic Factors. Information was obtained on age, place of birth, school classification and major field.

Ability. Since we were unable to obtain access to records, self report of grade point average (GPA) was obtained and used as a rough measure of ability.

Measures of Career Orientations and Perceptions

Commitment. A set of questions on the woman's plans to continue work after marriage were asked. The first asked whether the student planned to work after marriage, before children. This was answered in three categories: no, uncertain, and yes. The next question asked when

she planned to return to work after having children: the highest score possible was seven if she said "soon after children are born," and the lowest score was zero for "will not return." The data were handled categorically for most analyses.

Reason for Work Commitment. An open ended question asking "Why would you work after children?" Answers were coded into two broad categories labeled "self" and "other" depending on whether self-fulfillment was emphasized or not.

Career-marriage conflict. This was a straightforward question about the degree of conflict felt between the desire for marriage and the desire for career.

Occupational Choice. This was the question asking for career goals. The dependent variable, traditionality of occupational choice, was based on these answers. According to the method used by Tangri (1969), innovativeness is defined as the proportion of women who were in a given field according to the results of the 1960 U.S. Census. An innovative occupational choice is one in which 30 percent or fewer women were found in 1968. The 1970 census figures were not available at the time the categorization was done. As an additional way of looking at the concept of traditionality, three judges (Black women) were asked to rate the list of career choices as traditional or innovative for Black women. Comparison of the results of these judgements with traditionality defined in terms of incidence, showed almost complete agreement. Several

women's careers were rated non-traditional for Black women. These were occupations such as airline stewardess. The incidence of these few exceptions was so low, that these were coded as traditional for women.

Militancy. A militancy scale was administered in Study I but was not used in major analyses due to methodological problems. A new measure was devised for Study II.

Method of Procedure: Study II¹

The second study was conducted at five different Black universities located in Southeastern and Middle Atlantic states. One of these (School A) was a woman's college, one (School D), a state school, had recently changed from an all Black to an integrated school, another School E, was an urban university and the other two were state co-educational institutions. The procedure was identical to that of the first study; an advanced female graduate student administered all the instruments in group settings.

Subjects. There were 117 Seniors, and 169 Sophomores, all paid volunteers, in this study.

Instruments

The measures included were: (1) verbal cues of the TAT variety and (2) Background Questionnaire. (Appendix C)

1. Only new or changed measures will be described for Study II.

M_{as} The cues used in Study II were:

1. After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class.
2. Fannie has just been elected to head the local Black liberation group.
3. Betty is with her boyfriend, Ron, when they find out she has been admitted to graduate school.
4. Gloria, a lawyer, is sitting in her office preparing a brief for court presentation.

The scoring procedure was identical to that used for Study I. The cues were scored independently by the previously trained raters who agreed in 99 percent of the cases. The cues were changed to depict a variety of success situations but Cues 1 and 4 remained the same. Nach and FF were not measured in Study II.

Background Factors


The question on maternal and paternal occupations were coded in the same manner as for Study I. The question on family structure was also included in this study. The questions about siblings were deleted.

Occupational Choice and Career Perceptions

A series of questions were added about changes or compromise in major fields and career choice and the subject was asked for her ideal occupation. She was asked to describe the characteristics of her chosen field and the type of satisfaction her field offered. Finally, she was asked to estimate expected success and as in Study I, the degree

to which the field is open to Blacks and to women. The coding of the dependent variable, traditionality of career choice, remained the same.

Militancy Scale

The militancy scale was developed by Robinson (1970) and Puryear (1971). Part A consisted of six true-false statements. In this section a militant response was given one point, for a possible total of six points. Part B consisted of the statement: "A violent revolution in this country is (a) unavoidable, (b) necessary, (c) avoidable, (d) unnecessary.". The subject was to choose the answer with which she agreed. Response a or b was scored one; all other alternatives scored zero. Part C is a list of organizations active in the civil rights struggle. The subject was to select and rank order the three which she felt had been most effective in bringing about change for Black people. This part was frequently misinterpreted and therefore omitted from the scale. Part D consists of seven true-false statements with one point given for each militant response. Part E is a list of names from which the subject was to choose five persons whom she considered to be most important for the Black liberation movement. She was to rank these in order of importance. These responses were scored according to the number of militant persons named by the subject. One point was given if the person named 2 militants, 2 points for naming 3 militants, and 3 points for naming 4 militants. The militant names were: Huey P. Newton, H. Rap Brown, Dick Gregory, Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X and ed Hampton. These persons were judged to be militant on the basis

of their ideas about working outside of the system. Part F has seven questions pertaining to the subject's ideas and activities in the area of Blackness and liberation. Question 56 was scored according to the degree of violence the subject would advocate for Black people in their struggle against oppression in this country. The different degrees of violence ranged from zero for nonviolent to five for extreme violence. Question 57 was scored according to the number of times the subject had participated in any demonstrations or other physical actions related to the Black struggle in this country. The possible points were zero for none through three for three times or more. Question 58 was scored according to the degree to which the subject was prepared to actively participate in a physical confrontation with whites or other representatives of the system. A score of zero was given for the answer "no", one for "don't know", 3 for "I think so" and 5 for "yes". For Question 59 a score of one was given if the subject circled the word "militant" as being most descriptive of herself. Question 60 received a score of one if the subject circled Africa as the place from which her ancestors came. One point was given for Question 61 if the subject indicated that she felt the riots of the past few years were beneficial to Black people. Questions 60 and 61 were used by Epps (1970). He found that militants were more conscious of their heritage and saw the riot of the past few years as beneficial to Black people. Question 62 asked whether or not the subject was presently involved in activities aimed at furthering the cause of Black people. The subject answering that she was involved was given five points; the subject not

involved received a score of zero. This weighted score was used to reflect the idea that a statement about actual behavioral involvement is stronger than an expressed attitude. The maximum score was 35 points. The interrelationship among the parts of the scale and total score were obtained. The results are presented in Table A-1. Part B and Questions 59, 60, and 61 were summed and included as Variable 7. Since Question 57 correlated poorly with the total score, it was omitted from further calculations. The Coefficient Alpha, calculated as a measure of internal consistency (Cronbach, p. 160), was .80. Question 62 which had been dichotomized as five or zero was examined in a separate analysis since it could not be dealt with in an ordinary correlation formula. The chi square between Question 62 and the total score on the militancy scale was 7.21 ($p < .01$, 1 df). Subjects reporting present involvement in activities aimed at furthering the cause of Black people scored higher on the total militancy scale.

6

TABLE A-1

Intercorrelations of Individual Items
And Total Score on the Militancy Scale

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
1. A	1**	.443**	.261**	.338**	.210*	.184*	.443**	.614**
2. D			.382**	.463**	.274**	.265**	.514**	.726**
3. E				.375**	.390**	.133*	.449**	.581**
4. Q 56					.316**	.218*	.412**	.733**
5. Q 67						.045	.182*	.457**
6. Q 58							.334**	.605**
7. Q 59-61, Pt. B								.698**
8. Total Score								

* p < .05
** p < .01

APPENDIX B

TABLE B-1

List of Major Fields

<u>MAJOR</u>	<u>STUDY I</u> N	<u>STUDY II</u> N
Accounting	2	5
Art Education	2	0
Biology	3	5
Business Administration	3	17
Business Education	0	18
Chemistry	2	1
Civil Technology	0	1
Clothing & Textiles	2	0
Communications	0	1
Dental Hygiene	2	0
Design	1	0
Dietetics	0	1
Drama	2	0
Economics	2	2
Education (Non Specified)	1	0
Elementary Education	7	50
English	4	16
English (Secondary Level)	3	0
Foreign Languages	3	1
French	2	1
German	1	0

<u>MAJOR</u>	<u>STUDY I</u>	<u>STUDY II</u>
Government	8	0
History	3	14
Home Economics	5	23
Law Enforcement	0	7
Library Science	0	1
Marketing	1	0
Mathematics	1	13
Medical Technology	1	2
Music, Music Education	2	3
Nursing	2	3
Pharmacy	0	1
Philosophy	1	1
Physical Education	1	6
Political Science	1	6
Pre-medicine	0	1
Psychology	18	38
Social Science	0	6
Social Welfare	0	2
Sociology	14	41
Spanish	2	2
Special Education	0	11
Speech Correction	2	3
Zoology	13	2
No Answer	2	1
Undecided	1	0

TABLE B-2

List of Occupational Aspirations

<u>OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>STUDY I</u>	<u>STUDY II</u>
Accountant	1	8
Airline Stewardess	1	1
Anthropological Researcher	0	1
Architect	0	1
Band Instructor	0	1
Biologist	1	0
Business Administrator	1	5
Business Owner	0	2
Business Woman	2	0
Buyer (Department Store)	1	0
Chemist	2	1
CIA Agent	0	1
College Teacher	0	5
Commercial Artist	0	1
Communications	0	1
Community Organizer	0	1
Computer Programmer	0	7
Consumer Specialist	4	0
Court Administrator	0	1
Counselor	2	13

<u>OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>STUDY I</u>	<u>STUDY II</u>
Dental Hygienist	2	0
Dentist	1	0
Diplomat	1	0
Doctor	8	5
Dramatist	2	0
Economist	0	2
Editor	0	1
Executive Secretary	0	8
Fashion Designer	0	5
Fashion Retailer/Merchandiser	0	6
French Teacher	1	0
Government Employed	2	2
Graduate School	3	0
Housewife, etc.	3	0
Home Economist	0	2
Interior Decorator	2	1
Interior Designer	0	1
Interpreter	2	3
Journalist	2	3
Laboratory Technician	0	2
Lawyer	7	9
Librarian	0	2
Mathematician	1	0
Medical Technologist	2	4
Nurse	2	2

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>STUDY I</u>	<u>STUDY II</u>
Nursery School Director	0	1
Occupational Therapist	0	1
Pharmacist	0	1
Physical Therapist	0	2
Police Work	3	0
Probation Officer	0	5
Psychologist	9	25
Psychometrician	1	0
Public Health	1	0
Public Relations	0	1
Reading Specialist	0	1
Social Worker	4	36
Sociological Researcher	0	1
Special Education	0	10
Speech Therapist	1	4
Stock Broker	2	0
Teacher - Secondary Education	3	93
Teacher - Misc.	11	0
Zoologist	1	0
Don't Know, Undecided	5	9
No Answer	16	8

TABLE B-3

Traditionality of Selected Career Choice as Rated by
Judges and as Classified by Census Figures

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Black Women</u>	<u>Women in General</u>	<u>Census</u>
1. Dental Hygienist	T	T	T
2. Dental Technician	I	T	T
3. Medical Technician	I	T	T
4. Teacher (Elementary & High School)	T	T	T
Counseling	T	T	T
Music Education	T	T	T
Nursery School	T	T	T
Elementary Education	T	T	T
Art Education	T	T	T
Language Instructor	T	T	T
French	T	T	T
Home Economics	T	T	T
Physical Education	T	T	T
History Teacher	T	T	T
5. Public Health Service	T	T	T
6. Physician, Dentist	I	I	I
7. Sociologist	I	I	I
8. Social Worker	T	T	T

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Black Women</u>	<u>Women in General</u>	<u>Census</u>
9. Community and Urban Studies	I	I	N.A.
10. Psychologist	I	I	I
11. Psychometrician	I	I	I
12. Statistician	I	I	I
13. Business Administration	I	I	I
14. Stock Broker	I	I	I
15. Textile Merchandiser	I	I	I
16. Public Relations	I	I	I
17. Certified Public Accountant	I	I	I
18. Diplomat; Foreign Service	I	I	I
19. Chemist	I	I	I
20. Geneticist	I	I	I
21. Biologist	I	I	I
22. Journalist	I	I	I
23. Dramatist	I	T	I
24. Lawyer	I	I	I
25. Airline Stewardess	I	T	T
26. Librarian	T	T	T
27. Nurse	T	T	T
28. Interpreter	I	I	I
29. Teacher (College Level)	I	I	I
30. Musician	I	I	I
31. Speech Therapist	I	T	T
32. Interior Decorator	I	T	T
33. Economist	I	I	I

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a research program the purpose of which is to improve our understanding of the factors which affect a student's academic achievement. As you will see, the present questionnaire asks about certain of your personal feelings, attitudes, and experiences rather than about school information. Some of the questions refer to your past experiences with examinations; when you answer these, think back to your school examinations of the past couple of years. Obviously, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers to any of these kinds of questions. They merely offer an opportunity to express feelings and attitudes with regard to a large range of situations. The research value of this questionnaire will depend on how frank you are in stating your feelings and attitudes.

Do NOT write or mark on this booklet in any way. Your answers to the statements in this questionnaire are to be recorded only on the separate answer sheet provided. At the top of the answer sheet fill in your name, sex, code number and the date. Needless to say, your answers to the items will be kept strictly confidential and will not be made available to any instructor or other official of the University.

Read each statement and set of alternatives carefully. Then select the answer which best describes your own actual feelings or behavior and circle the letter on the answer sheet that corresponds to the alternative you have selected for that particular item.

Please answer ALL items, giving only ONE answer for each. Work as rapidly as possible but be sure you read each alternative carefully before making your choice.

If you have any questions at this time please ask one of the persons in charge of the session. If you have no questions, take out the answer sheet, fill in the information requested at the top and then begin the questionnaire.

1. Nervousness while taking an exam or test hinders me from doing well.
 - a. always
 - b. often
 - c. sometimes
 - d. rarely
 - e. never
2. I work most effectively under pressure, as when the task is very important.
 - a. always
 - b. usually
 - c. sometimes
 - d. hardly ever
 - e. never
3. In a course where I have been doing poorly, my fear of a bad grade cuts down my efficiency.
 - a. never
 - b. hardly ever
 - c. sometimes
 - d. usually
 - e. always
4. I keep my grades up mainly by doing well on the big exams rather than on the day to day course work.
 - a. This is true in almost all of my courses.
 - b. This is true in quite a few of my courses.
 - c. This sometimes happens.
 - d. Usually this is not the case.
 - e. This is very rarely true.
5. When I am poorly prepared for an exam or test, I get upset, and do less well than even my restricted knowledge should allow.
 - a. This never happens to me.
 - b. This hardly ever happens to me.
 - c. This sometimes happens to me.
 - d. This often happens to me.
 - e. This practically always happens to me.
6. The more important the examination, the less well I seem to do.
 - a. always
 - b. usually
 - c. sometimes
 - d. hardly ever
 - e. never

7. When I feel confident about my ability to do well on a test,
 - a. anxiety does not bother me at all.
 - b. anxiety bothers me very rarely.
 - c. anxiety may still bother me sometimes.
 - d. I still often feel somewhat anxious.
 - e. I still feel very anxious.
8. Under pressure I am able to organize my thoughts more clearly than usual.
 - a. Definitely not true.
 - b. This is hardly ever true.
 - c. sometimes
 - d. This is often the case.
 - e. This is true most of the time.
9. While I may (or may not) be nervous before taking an exam, once I start, I seem to forget to be nervous.
 - a. I always forget.
 - b. usually
 - c. sometimes
 - d. I often feel some nervousness.
 - e. I am always nervous during an exam.
10. During exams or tests, I block on questions to which I know the answers, even though I might remember them as soon as the exam is over.
 - a. This always happens to me.
 - b. This often happens to me.
 - c. This sometimes happens to me.
 - d. This hardly ever happens to me.
 - e. I never block on questions to which I know the answers.
11. Nervousness while taking a test helps me to do better.
 - a. It never helps.
 - b. It usually doesn't help.
 - c. Now and then it helps.
 - d. It generally helps me a little.
 - e. It often helps.
12. When I start a test, nothing is able to distract me.
 - a. This is always true of me.
 - b. This is often true of me.
 - c. This is sometimes true of me.
 - d. This is hardly ever true of me.
 - e. This is not true of me.

13. During a test I tend to perspire
- a. lots
 - b. quite a bit
 - c. some
 - d. very little (unless there is extreme heat or humidity)
 - e. not at all (unless there is extreme heat or humidity)
14. In courses in which the total grade is based mainly on one exam, I seem to do better than other people.
- a. never
 - b. hardly ever
 - c. sometimes
 - d. quite often
 - e. almost always
15. I find that my mind goes blank at the beginning of an exam, and it takes me a few minutes before I can function;
- a. I almost always blank out at first.
 - b. I usually blank out at first.
 - c. I sometimes blank out at first.
 - d. I hardly ever blank out at first.
 - e. I never blank out at first.
16. I look forward to exams
- a. never
 - b. hardly ever
 - c. sometimes
 - d. usually
 - e. always
17. I am so tired from worrying about an exam, that I find I almost don't care how well I do by the time I start the test.
- a. I never feel this way.
 - b. I hardly ever feel this way.
 - c. I sometimes feel this way.
 - d. I often feel this way.
 - e. I almost always feel this way.
18. Time pressure on an exam causes me to do worse than the rest of the group under similar conditions.
- a. Time pressure always seems to make me do worse on an exam than others.
 - b. Time pressure often seems to make me do worse on an exam than others.
 - c. Time pressure sometimes seems to make me do worse on an exam than others.

- d. Time pressure hardly ever seems to make me do worse on an exam than others.
 - e. Time pressure never seems to make me do worse on an exam than others.
19. Although "cramming" under pre-examination tension is not effective for most people, I find that if the need arises, I can learn material immediately before an exam, even under considerable pressure, and successfully retain it to use on the exam.
- a. I am always able to use the "crammed" material successfully.
 - b. I am usually able to use the "crammed" material successfully.
 - c. I sometimes can use the "crammed" material successfully.
 - d. I hardly ever use the "crammed" material successfully.
 - e. I am never able to use the "crammed" material successfully.
20. When I find a question on an exam that I did not expect, I get upset, and don't do as well on the question as my preparation should allow me to do.
- a. always
 - b. usually
 - c. sometimes
 - d. hardly ever
 - e. never
21. I enjoy taking a difficult exam more than an easy one
- a. always
 - b. often
 - c. sometimes
 - d. rarely
 - e. never
22. When I lack confidence in my ability to do well on a test
- a. I begin to feel very anxious
 - b. I begin to feel slightly anxious
 - c. I sometimes feel mildly anxious
 - d. It hardly ever upsets me
 - e. It doesn't bother me
23. I find myself reading exam questions without understanding them, and I must go back over them so that they will make sense.
- a. never
 - b. rarely
 - c. sometimes
 - d. often
 - e. almost always

24. The more important the exam or test, the better I seem to do.
- a. This is true of me.
 - b. This is true of me much of the time.
 - c. This is sometimes true of me.
 - d. This is rarely true of me.
 - e. This is not true of me.
25. During an exam or test I become conscious of my heartbeat
- a. almost always
 - b. frequently
 - c. sometimes
 - d. hardly every
 - e. never
26. When I don't do well on difficult items at the beginning of an exam, it tends to upset me so that I block on even easy questions later on.
- a. This never happens to me.
 - b. This very rarely happens to me.
 - c. This sometimes happens to me.
 - d. This frequently happens to me.
 - e. This always happens to me.
27. Relative to other students, I seem to have more (or less) than the average amount of harmful nervousness about tests and exams.
- a. much more
 - b. a little more
 - c. about average
 - d. a little less
 - e. much less
28. I feel that if I were not surrounded by competitors in an exam situation.
- a. I would do much better
 - b. I would do a little better
 - c. It wouldn't make much difference
 - d. I wouldn't do quite as well
 - e. I wouldn't do anywhere near as well

You are going to see a series of verbal leads or cues and your task is to tell a story that is suggested to you by each cue. Try to imagine what is going on in each cue. Then tell what the situation is, what led up to the situation, what the people are thinking and feeling and what they will do. In other words, write as complete a story as you can - a story with plot and characters.

You will have (20) twenty seconds to look at a verbal cue and (5) five minutes to write your story. Write your first impressions and work rapidly. I will keep time and tell you when it is time to finish your story and to get ready for the next cue.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers or kinds of stories, so feel free to write whatever story is suggested to you when you look at a cue. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar are not important. What is important is to write out as fully and as quickly as possible the story that comes into your mind as you imagine what is going on in each cue.

There will be a sheet for the cue and an answer sheet following. If you need more space, write on the back of the answer sheet.

The guidelines to be followed in writing your stories are as follows:

1. What is happening? Who are the persons?
2. What has led up to this situation? What has happened in the past?
3. What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?
4. What will happen? What will be done?

The guidelines are printed under the verbal cues on each set of sheets.

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CAROL IS LOOKING INTO HER MICROSCOPE.

CODE NO. _____

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

These questions are important ones for you to answer in order for us to complete our study. Please remember that you won't be identified individually when the results are evaluated. Please try to be as thoughtful and complete as possible in your answers.

1. Date of Birth: _____

2. Class (Check One)

- _____ Freshman
_____ Sophomore
_____ Junior
_____ Senior

PART A.

We would like to know something about your current and future plans. Answer these questions even if you are uncertain in some cases.

A1a. Major field: _____

A1b. Have you changed or do you plan to change your major?

_____ Yes _____ No

A1c. IF YES, describe the change, the reason for the change, and when the change occurred (or will occur). _____

A2a. As you now see it, what are your occupational plans? Be specific.

CODE NO. _____

A2b. (FOR SENIORS ONLY) What do you plan to be doing next year? Be specific _____

A3. Very often an individual changes occupational goals for various reasons. Does your goal represent such a change or a compromise?

A3a. Change _____ Yes
_____ No

A3b. Compromise _____ Yes
_____ No

A3c. IF YES, for either of the above questions, please explain.

A3d. What do you think the most important requirement of the occupation you are choosing is? _____

A3e. What will be most satisfying about your chosen field? _____

A4a. If you could pursue your ideal occupational goal, would you have a different one?

_____ Yes

_____ No

A4b. IF YES, what would you most like to do? Be as specific as you can.

A5a. Very often someone in a person's life influences one's choice of major field and occupational goal. Is there or has there been such a person in your life?

_____ Yes

_____ No

BE SURE CODE NUMBER IS AT THE TOP OF THIS PAGE

A5. IF YES, who is it? _____
List three adjectives that best describe this person.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

A6. How likely is it that you will be successful in your future occupation?

1	1	1	1	1
Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Fair Chance to Succeed	Good Chance	Excellent Chance

A7. Are your parents (Check One)

_____ Living Together

_____ Divorced, separated

_____ Father deceased

_____ Mother deceased

_____ Both deceased

A8. What is your mother's occupation? _____
Check if mother doesn't work _____. Explain if not applicable.

A9. What is your father's occupation? _____
Explain if not applicable. _____

A10. Do you feel any conflict between a desire for marriage and a career? (Check One)

- _____ Yes, I feel a strong conflict
- _____ Yes, I feel some conflict
- _____ No, I don't really want to get married
- _____ No, I don't really want a career
- _____ No, I want both, but I feel no conflict

A11a. Do you expect to work after you get married, before you have children? (Check One)

- _____ Yes _____ No _____ Uncertain

A11c. If you do go back to work after you have children, when would you expect to go - we mean to a job that would take at least 15 to 20 hours a week? (Check One)

1. _____ Soon after children are born
2. _____ When the children reach nursery school
3. _____ When the children reach kindergarten or first grade
4. _____ When the children go into junior high school
5. _____ When the children go into high school
6. _____ When the children go into college
7. _____ When the children leave home
8. _____ I do not expect to work after I have children

A11d. Why would you go back to work after having children? *check only one*
~~(Check One)~~

1. _____ To help out financially if needed
2. _____ To develop and maintain my skills
3. _____ Self fulfillment
4. _____ To help my people
5. _____ Other _____

A12a. How many children do you plan to have? _____

A12b. How many years apart would you ideally like to have your children? _____

A13a. Are you married at the present time?

_____ Yes _____ No

A13b. IF NO, were you married at some previous time?

_____ Yes _____ No

A13c. Are you engaged?

_____ Yes _____ No

Have you set a date for your wedding?

_____ Yes _____ No

A13d. IF NO to 13a and 13c, are you pinned?

_____ Yes _____ No

A13e. IF NO to 13a, 13b, 13c, and 13d, have you been dating someone steadily for the past four months or longer?

_____ Yes _____ No

A13f. IF YES to 13a, check the statement which most adequately describes your feeling about marrying your present boyfriend.

1. _____ I do not believe we will marry
2. _____ We might marry, but if pressed I'd say the odds were against it.
3. _____ It's possible we'll marry
4. _____ It's not entirely definite but I think we'll get married
5. _____ I'm sure we'll get married.

A14. How does your fiancée(or husband or boyfriend) feel about your plans? (leave out if not applicable) _____

A15a. What are the educational and/or vocational plans of your husband, fiancée, or boyfriend for next year? _____

A15b. What are his long range vocational plans (if different from what is implied in the above response.) _____

PART D

Now for some more general questions about your feelings on a variety of matters.

31. Do you think girls who make all A's and are always on the college honor roll tend to be happier or unhappier than girls who are average students in college?

_____ 1. Happier

_____ 2. About the same

_____ 3. Unhappier

_____ 4. No opinion

7.

CODE NO. _____

B2. Do you think girls who make all 'A's' and who are always on the college honor roll tend to be more or less feminine than girls who are average students?

- _____ 1. More feminine
- _____ 2. About the same
- _____ 3. Less feminine
- _____ 4. No opinion

B3. Do you think girls who are known as 'Brains' on campus are more or less likely to get married than girls who are average in their class work?

- _____ 1. More likely to marry
- _____ 2. Their chances are as good as those of the average girl
- _____ 3. Less likely to marry
- _____ 4. No opinion

PART C

Respond to each of the following statements with a plus sign if you agree with it and a minus sign if you disagree.

- 1. _____ Black militancy is nothing but a fad.
- 2. _____ Black militancy means 'Kill The Honky'.
- 3. _____ Black militancy is appreciating your native heritage.
- 4. _____ Black militancy is the enhancement of the self-image of the Black.
- 5. _____ Black militancy is more power for the Blacks.
- 6. _____ Black militancy means destroying the white power structure.

For the following statement choose the one answer that you feel most in agreement with.

- 1. _____ A violent revolution in this country is (a) unavoidable (b) necessary (c) avoidable (d) unnecessary.

Below are some organizations which have been active in the rights struggle in this country. Select and rank from one (1) to three (3), the three organizations which you feel have been most effective in bringing about change for black people.

- 24. _____ SNCC
- 25. _____ Black Muslims
- 26. _____ NAACP
- 27. _____ Deacons for Defense and Justice
- 28. _____ National Urban League
- 29. _____ RAM
- 30. _____ SCLC
- 31. _____ Black Panthers
- 32. _____ CORE

Respond to each of the following statements with a plus sign if you agree with it and a minus sign if you disagree.

- 33. _____ Afro hairstyles are not appropriate for most black women.
- 34. _____ I think of myself first as a black man, and second as an American.
- 35. _____ African History should be part of the curriculum for black children.
- 36. _____ Black men should only date black women.
- 37. _____ Blacks wouldn't accomplish much by "buying black."
- 38. _____ If I owned a business, I would prefer to hire a black man over a white man.
- 39. _____ Black people should run the schools in their neighborhoods.

Below is a list of names. From the list choose five persons who are most important to you and rank them in order of importance from one (1) to five (5)

- 40. _____ Fred Ahmed Evans
- 41. _____ Julian Bond
- 42. _____ Martin L. King Jr.

CONF. NO. _____

- 43. _____ Elijah Muhammad
- 44. _____ Huey P. Newton
- 45. _____ M. Ron Brown
- 46. _____ Dick Gregory
- 47. _____ Roy Wilkins
- 48. _____ Thurmond Marshall
- 49. _____ Edward Brooks
- 50. _____ James Baldwin
- 51. _____ Ralph Bunche
- 52. _____ Stokely Carmichael
- 53. _____ Malcolm X
- 54. _____ Fred Hampton
- 55. _____ Ralph Abernathy

56. What is the most extreme form of violence you would advocate for black people in their struggle against oppression in this country?

57. Have you ever participated in any demonstrations or other physical actions related to the black struggle in this country? If so where and when?

58. Are you prepared at this time to actively participate in a physical confrontation with whites or any others representing the system?

59. Please circle the word which best describes your views?

Radical Moderate Conservative Apathetic

60. Which country do you consider your ancestors to be from?

Africa America Elsewhere _____

61. Do you feel that the riots of the past few years were beneficial to our people? Yes No

62. Are you presently involved in any activities aimed at furthering the cause of Black people?

C1. What do you see as the role of the Black woman today?

C2. Many Black liberation groups emphasize the fact that the men must lead. According to them, Black women have dominated the Black family too long. She has castrated Black men too long. These groups see it as essential to the liberation of Black people that strong Black men lead. They are asking Black women who are concerned with the liberation of our people to step down and let the men lead.

One Black woman's organization sees as one of its major needs the necessity to redefine the role of the Black woman - removing her from a position of perpetual dominance and placing her in a position beside her man.

Do you agree with this view? _____ Yes _____ No
Why? _____

C3. Have these ideas or ideas like these had any effect on your future plans (Career plans)? Yes _____ No _____
Explain _____

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